

BLACK FLAG

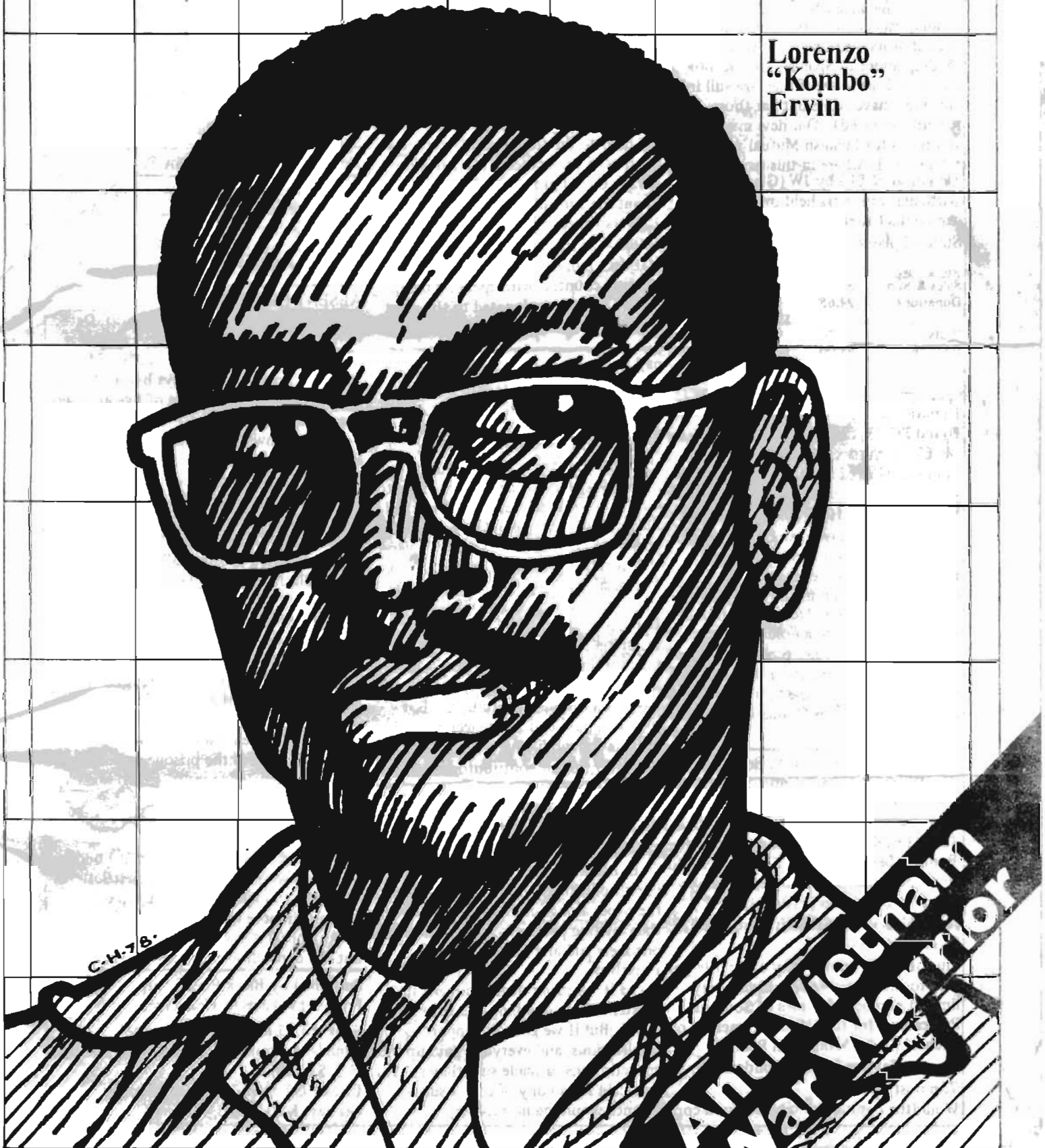
ORGAN OF THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

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Lorenzo
"Kombo"
Ervin



BLACK ~ FLAG

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

Prisoners/Resistance Fund

C/fwd	41.35	
SB (Surrey)	11.00	
SS (Guam US)	33.77	
PM (Leices- ter)	2.00	88.12
Spain	50.00	
Radios (Eng- land)	15.00	65.00
Balance i/h	23.12	

Thanks especially to our two regular contributors; warning to all who are sending direct to Spanish prisoners to check with us to see if they are still in jail (most have come out bar those recently arrested). Our new major venture is for Spanish Mutual Aid — see reference elsewhere in this issue. Donation of £15 by JW (Glasgow) for particular prisoners held over until we can contact them.

State of play at 31st Dec. 1977

	deficit c/fwd	1346.14
Black Flag Sales & Subs	83.34	
Donations	94.65	
		177.99
Postage	60.50	
Printing	65.00	125.00
	credit	52.99
		1294.15

Donations:

Dyfed PC £3; Calif. MG £28.25; Glasgow BF £3.75; Sussex DC £4.75; BRA £1; London JG £2; LF £15, Printworkers £25; Welsh Friend of Durruti £2.50; Warwick JE £6; HMP MS £3 — £94.65.

Remarkable to have maintained a downward drop in our deficit two issues running, and this means we are in a reasonable position to start our new centre as soon as a place can be found; particular thanks to an old comrade, Leah Feldman, for her generous support and we must also mention the comrade in jail who keeps up the fight and our old comrade Marcus Graham for his consistent support.

Books available from C.P. Bookservice:
The IWW: Its First Seventy Years 1905-1975, Thompson & Murfin, £2.35 (+ 20p p+p). Malatesta: Life and Ideas, Richards, £2.00 (+ 20p p+p). The Canbe Collective Builds a Beehive, Garskof, £2.35 (+ 20p p+p). National Liberation and State Power Spence, 20p (+10p p+p). Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, Peirats, £2.35.

Plus of course, almost any other title you care to think of. We also have a very limited number of copies of Souvenir Programme for the Official Lynching of Michael Abdul Malik with Poems, Stories, Sayings by The Condemned, 75p post free.

Would the comrade who asked for a copy



PHIL RUFF, Black Flag cartoonist

The paltry sums for want of which our movement is unable to go forward is almost staggering. Elsewhere in this issue we refer to the sum of £300 wanted to push off a project for a Mutual Aid (Black Cross) project in Spain. This is about the sum allocated to the average University society affiliated to a student union — which finance most of the Marxist-Leninist vanguards that abound in every country, with speakers being invited and funds donated to the most way out causes whereas the libertarian societies, when they exist, sometimes pay the fares of speakers (and sometimes don't). The CIA has lavished untold thousands on Spanish unionism — with absolutely nil returns. The CIA is portrayed as Universal Baddie but it is also Universal Santa Claus, pouring out the US taxpayer's money in an effort to solve all problems — and surprised and hurt when it never does. The Kremlin has also been pouring money out all over the world — vying with Peking as Universal Provider.

Dissident Marxist Parties, leading the Proletariat, as they say, can always be set up on the usual formula of one rich man (businessman dealing with China/well paid professional man) plus one shop steward plus six students. But anarchist publications stagger on with deficits though like us with no office paid staff, no paid contributors, hopefully paying for its printing and a deficit which libertarians regard as "staggering" (but doesn't equal the average wage bill on one socialist paper per week).

In Black Flag we've set up our own inbuilt cutthroat competition in running the paper alongside Black Cross activities thus inviting people to send their cash to prisoners' aid and not getting it ourselves.

So be it. A paper ought to merit its existence by something else than being itself. But if we got full support for our publications, and everyone paid up their subscriptions or made sure they got for and paid for a copy of each issue — finance would be no problem.

of Fields, Factories & Workshops please contact us as we now have it in stock — and have lost your name and address, sorry!

Black Bear Anarcha-Feminist Pamphlets, Nos. 1, 2, & 3 are available direct from the publisher at 76 Peckham Rd. London SE5 at 50p for all 3 (inc. post).

Edinburgh: FIRST OF MAY BOOKSHOP Anarchist/Feminist/Socialist Books, magazines, pamphlets. Warm place to meet — talk — organise! 45 Niddry St., Edinburgh (031 557 1348)

An Anarchist Black Cross grouping has been established recently in New York: Secretary, Martin Sostre, 339 Lafayette St. New York, NY 10012, USA.

STOP PRESS: Comrade Alfredo Bonanno has been arrested in Catania, Sicily, and charged with encouraging & glamourising criminality in his latest book "La Gioia Armata. Full details in next issue.

ABSENT FRIENDS

Our friends and comrades Phil Ruff, Dave Campbell and Brian Gibbens sentenced to seven years imprisonment at the Old Bailey in London a few days before Xmas (two consecutive sentences of five and two years each).

Phil is known to all readers of Black Flag for his inspired cartoons as well as his articles and book reviews — one of many working class anarchist cartoonists who don't vote Labour; Dave Campbell, as lead singer in the group "Cockayne" has contributed substantially to the funds of the Black Cross by playing at our concerts.

The sentence for armed robbery and possession of arms, seemed unnecessarily harsh for first offenders and out of all proportion to the offence committed, but there is no proof of political prejudice being involved at this stage.

There has been a widespread feeling of solidarity towards the prisoners whilst on remand, expressed in visits, which must now be discontinued. They have been well appreciated by the comrades behind bars. They are now in "A" Hall, HMP Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Rd., London W.12 and would greatly appreciate letters and cards to make the 7 years slip by that much more quickly.

An appeal is expected against sentence, but not conviction.

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THE DEBATE ON SPANISH ANARCHISM TODAY

The great debate now going on in Spain's anarchist movement concerns the nature of libertarian organisation during a period of struggle. It is a pity that such a debate should be necessary, for it is all based upon a misconception of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism. Understandably, the new generation does not know much about theory: how could it, after years of government genocide as a means of suppressing class war, during which the universal conspiracy of silence regarding anarchism was maintained, together with a policy of swift extermination of those who advocated it?

The movement in exile was bogged down in anti-fascist rhetoric which replaced libertarian thinking, and the need for cloaking itself in respectability so as to survive in a capitalist democracy. The debates that have gone on have been regarding the nature of democracy, anti-bolshevism etc and nothing at all — except in vague, declamatory terms — about the problems the anarchist movement faced and should have to face.

Yet the moribund organisation which perpetuated this non-debate equally condemned the activists' struggle against fascism and so left the door open to bolshevism.

One result is that the new generation has to think its way out afresh, and is going through the sterile ground familiar enough here but which ought not to be necessary in Spain where there has been factual experience of anarchist theory and practice — both in its strength and weakness.

The debate is sometimes thought of as "individualism" versus "free communism" or "Anarchism" versus "syndicalism" or the deficiencies or otherwise of the CNT when it is in fact a misconception of the whole idea itself, with the result that though the anarchists have the ball at their feet in Spain, they often do not know which game they are playing.

What should be the CNT? An anarcho-syndicalist organisation is a horizontal union body — as distinct from a vertical one. It is controlled not from the top down (nor even from the bottom up) but is controlled by all its membership. It is not a trade union with anarchist leadership — and to speak of it in the same breath as trade unionism is absurd, for the whole point of trade unionism is control from the top, which can integrate into any authoritarian system as well as democracy but never into one without

the State. Trade unionism takes as its basic principle the closed shop, so that the fascist principle of the corporate state is what, inevitably, trade unionism must come to, in co-operation with employers' organisations and under the control of the State. Syndicalism is an advance on trade unionism, because its ideal is workers' control — i.e. workers councils taking the means of production and the places of work into their own hands — but it too can be vertical rather than horizontal. The efforts by Maoists and even Trotskyists to set up their own unions in Spain are doomed to failure, for they believe in a party that "must" lead the masses who "of themselves have only a trade union consciousness," hence they want unions composed of people less politically conscious than themselves and only taking orders. Such unions are better organised by socialists or communists. The "extreme left" can criticise other unions and fight against a backward leadership but is afraid of a set-up where there is no leadership and its existence is superfluous.

It is a mistake many libertarians are making in Spain today to think that it is necessary to "make the CNT anarchist" — that if too many people enter into it, it will "change its anarchist character," that it will become "purely syndicalist" and that this represents a menace. This only resolves itself into the problem of whether the CNT can remain horizontal or not. There is every sign that it is remaining horizontal. One does not want its committees to be composed of anarchists as if they were a vanguard party, over and above the non-political mass.

The strike of the filling stations in Catalonia was the first test of the reconstructed CNT. The other unions, the "big three" are now the UGT, Workers' Commissions and the USO. They are the ones co-operating with the government and fighting over which shall be the "TUC" of Spain. The CNT is now a minority union, unlike before the civil war, both because of the previous repression and the new industries.

Because these other unions did not act in a militant fashion, due to the social contract made by their political representatives, (not an unfamiliar situation to us), the CNT was able to push ahead with the strike, and it was brought to a more or less satisfactory conclusion. Strangely, this provoked great dissent amongst many anarchists some of whom

felt — what then is the difference between the CNT and any trade union? Clearly, one strike cannot be "over the top" into battle. The class struggle consists of small advances, sometimes retreats, then major advances, sometimes major retreats. There can be selling out by reformist or corrupt leaderships. But no leadership at all existed; and no sell out was therefore possible or performed. This is the stuff of what "the CNT" that is to say, horizontal union organisation, was and is all about. But is this revolutionary? There is no substitute for armed struggle. Industrial struggle is not that. Both have their place and time. Neither can be successful without the other.

From one article declaring "the CNT is sick", from a regional paper, I read with surprise that "what we want" is a CNT able to organise the local communities, give support to housing and so on — rather than concentrate on industrial issues. It is not a "sickness" if a union organisation does not do what it is not intended to do. All those things should be done, some are being done, but they are part of a vast network of what is the libertarian movement and should not form part of the industrial organisation. The anarchist movement cannot be solely CNT any more than the CNT can be solely anarchist. There are many ways of an anarcho-syndicalist movement operating: in the CNT today the various unions seem to form branches off the job and within the job form themselves into workers' councils, in which all workers, inclusive of those in other union centres, can join. Thus the apparent contradiction that a union representing one branch of workers can have some 500 members and bring 5000 out on strike.

In addition to the anarcho-syndicalist movement, however, it is urgent that the anarchist movement develops all the other facets of community work which are properly speaking not industrial at all. Revolution depends upon the fact of change in the economy which will only be altered by a movement based on industry, and this is the first essential (but not the only essential) of social change; there are many other facets to revolutionary change as well. This was always recognised by the anarchist movement in the old days, with its Ferrer schools, its trade halls, its locals and centres, its libraries, its defence organisations, its newspapers, its fighting teams,

in short, a whole libertarian sub-structure which was in no way controlled by the CNT; and only part of which had anything to do with the FAI.

It was during the civil war (but stratified in exile) that there grew up a sort of party type organisation labelled "CNT FAI" but this was due to special circumstances and led to ossification.

Introducing the Mutual Aid Organisation

It would be useful to form a new organisation in Spain which had as its object solely that of building up a network or community network, learning from the best of the Anglo-American libertarian experience and tossing aside the rubbish that has clung to this experience because of liberalism and pacifism and marxism. It seems to us that this is a major task for the Anarchist Black Cross. Its function in aiding Spanish prisoners is now over for the time being, with the limited number of prisoners (as compared with when we first began), and the fact of defence committees for prisoners now being open in Spain. Nor is it necessary now to send aid to the resistance any longer — though what is urgently wanted is printing presses, offset lithos and duplicators, which is something we must continually send to Spain. The more diffused they are the better. We have trained dozens of women and men through the Centro Iberico to be able to operate offset lithos; now we have to send the machines to the libertarians in different towns, trades and interests.

In addition to this we need to set up an organisation that will transform the union halls into clubs, as in the old days; that will open claimants unions and give advice on housing, industrial and other enquiries; that will spread advice regarding contraception and abortion; which for long has been a totally illegal activity (no longer so, but an enormous prevailing ignorance). The cost of doing this is minimal given voluntary labour and enthusiasm which is there abundantly. We propose to call this the MUTUAL AID (Apoyo Mutuo) to be a contribution to the Spanish struggle from our neck of the woods. Like the Black Cross it is something on which one cannot lose (we always said of it that if we only helped or helped free one prisoner the organisation was justified — given the fact that it was also aiding in the diffusion of our ideas).

Our immediate target is a mere £300 to get the set up working after which it will be able to look after itself. (We hope to raise this by a couple of concerts). With veterans and new wave establishing the network it will have its own momentum as can be seen by some of the grassroots movements here and in the States. It will show there must be more than the CNT and take the pressure off it; its task must remain the industrial

struggle where by challenging the vertical unions it can achieve the aim of re-collectivisation of industry. The more diverse the movement in Spain, the more decentralised, the better it had flourished and will.

The enthusiasm expressed in previous articles on anarchism in Spain today is in no way abated. It is even more hopeful in Spain now than immediately preceding 1936, in some ways, for if the present situation were expressed in conflict it would show all the authoritarian parties, left or right, lined up against the workers. The pretence of their being anything else can deceive only those who want to be deceived. Spain, for better or worse, has become historically the forward line for anarchist ideas. If our ideas are to reach fulfilment, this forward line cannot be left without massive support from the rear.



Albert Meltzer.

C.N.T

In this issue we are, with comparative figures for other unions in the various regions, including a statistical breakdown of the organisation of the Spanish CNT. The figures, which are the latest available to us, represent the situation as it was around September. We have now been informed that the total membership is in the region of 200,000, and that all regions report a rapid and sustained growth in membership. In fact the growth has been so quick that it is being hampered by an almost total lack of facilities.

Even without the massive financial backing that has been available to the socialist UGT (especially from W. Germany) and the communist dominated Workers' Commissions (CC.OO), the anárcho-sindicalist CNT has made incredible progress, considering that even as late as last February there was little or no organisational base to start from. The other important unions are the USO (a development from the old Franco type unions) and the nationalist unions such as the Basque STV (which works with the CNT) and the smaller unions, largely composed of students, of Maoists and Trotskyists (also vertical).

Most of the regions are now publishing

their own papers, and within all the regions a large number of special bulletins are produced for different "locals" and industries. The fact that power lies within the local has already been reflected by the way in which, in many areas, the social struggle has spilled over from strikes, factory occupations and industrial action generally, to embrace issues normally associated with ecological, anti-nuclear and women's movements.

In September three regions were still without papers, and this was reflected in the size of the membership and the degree of influence that the CNT has been able to exert in these areas. Once again we would like to appeal, not only for money, but asking people to hunt out any usable typewriting, duplicating or printing equipment that they can. Contact Miguel Garcia at 123, Upper Tollington Park, London N.4.

ANDALUCIA

Secretaria Regional: F.L. de Granada, c/o Joaquin Costa, 6, 3º Granada.
60 local federations.
Paper: Andalucia Libertaria (circ. 20,000)
Membership: 20,000. All industries.
(CC.OO. 200,000; UGT 230,000)

ARAGON

C/. Coso No 102, piso 1º, Oficina 12, Zaragoza.
22 local federations
Paper: Accion Libertaria.
Membership: 2,000 (esp. metal & construction)
(CC.OO 25,000: No figures for UGT)

ASTURIAS

C/. Campo Sagrado No 33 Bajo, Gijon.
7 local federations.
Paper: Accion Libertaria.
Membership 5,000 (esp. metal & mining)
(CC.OO. 40,000; UGT 55,000, USO 10,000).

CANARIAS

C/. Progreso N° 45 (local comercial) Bajo. Sta. Cruz de Tenerife.
4 local federations
currently undertaking re-organisation, and preparation for CNT Canaria Congress active in strikes within construction, gas, transport etc.
Membership: 2,000
(CC.OO 12,000)

CANTABRIA

C/. Penas Redondas, 15 Bajo, Santander.
4 local federations
no regional paper at present, although publishes *Construccion*.
Membership: 1,000
(CC.OO 10,000)

CATALUNYA

C/. Mendez Nunez, 14, 2º Barcelona 3
70 local federations and 8 districts
Paper: Solidaridad Obrera
Membership: 70,000
(all industries — 300 sindicatos)
(CC.OO. 250,000)

CENTRO

C/. Libertad, 15-1º, Madrid 7
27 local federations and 2 districts.
Paper: Castilla Libre (circ.20,000)
Membership: 7,000 (esp. metal & transport).
(CC.OO, 300,000; UGT, 280,000, USO 30,000)

EUSKADI

C/. Rioja, no.33 Bajo, Vitoria (Alava)
"growing rapidly"
Paper: Euskadi Confederal (circ.10,000)
Membership: 2,000 (esp. metal, construction, graphic arts and banking)
Membership: 2,000
(CC.OO, 40,000; UGT, 90,000).

EXTREMADURA

Juan Sanchez Excobero C/., Venecia
4-4ºB Cáceres.
5 local federations
Paper: urgently requires a propaganda outlet
Membership: 1,000
(CC.OO 14,000; UGT 10,000)

GALICIA

Carlos III, 78 El Ferrol (La Coruña)
7 local federations and one district.
No paper, although some issued by 'locals'
Membership: 1,000 (esp. construction, metal and shipbuilding, education)
(CC.OO. 35,000)

MURCIA - ALBACETE

C/. Proyecto 4 - Baño A, Cartagena (Murcia)
12 local federations.
Paper: Confederacion.
Membership: 2,000 (esp. metals and construction).
(CC.OO, 15,000; UGT 10,000).

PAIS VALENCIA

C/. Garrigues, 1-4º 9M, Valencia - 1
Paper: Fragua Social (circ. 20,000)
Membership: 15,000
CC.OO 100,000)



RIOJA

C/. Hierros 3-1º, Logrono
Paper: Accion Directa
Membership: less than 1,000 (esp. metal, education, timber and chemicals)
(CC.OO, 3,000)

This gives a rough idea that, while the CNT is no longer the working class organisation, it is a formidable sized force in Spanish industrial organisation; if it were bigger, given the circumstances of today, it would probably have to be reformist (since a horizontal organisation must always reflect the current attitude

of the workers) or cease to be libertarian and decentralist.

The CC.OO and the USO grew directly out of the old fascist syndicates — the CC.OO never wanted them dissolved, since it would have achieved power within them as it had operated inside. However this would have led to the disappearance of the UGT and both the UGT and CC.OO have had considerable foreign backing either from the social-democratic labour movement — or from the CIA and KGB alike — in a bid to create an "instant labour movement." It has not quite come off, thanks to the CNT.

GREECE

Following the arrests in Athens and Thessaloniki, which we reported in the last issue of Black Flag, we have received a detailed account of the events, which, although they cover much the same ground as our previous article, do include a considerable amount of detail as to the blatant nature of the repression and is worth reprinting here.

On Tuesday, October 18, 1977, just one month before the General Elections, an unprecedented wave of police terror was launched in Greece. The openly avowed aim of this campaign is the physical extermination of the young anarchist movement, which developed during the recent military dictatorship and has subsequently shown on many occasions its vitality and continuing strength.

Among its activities are included interventions during the historic November 1973 student uprisings which contributed to the downfall of the Colonels; the campaign against the extradition of German revolutionary Rolphe Pohl during the summer of 1976; interventions in the May Day activities and demonstrations of 1975, 1976 and 1977, plus various anti-political, anti-electoral and anti-militarist mobilisations. We would add to this a rich programme of book and periodical publishing. The anarchist movement in Greece is now considered by the authorities as public enemy No.1. The methods used for the wide-spread repression has been imported from Germany under the example of a number of German policemen. A "pogrom" has been launched against anarchists which

has featured arrests without pretext, the usual beatings, fabricated charges, abusive trials, searches of homes, imprisonments with or without trials, arrests of all the publishers of anarchist books, papers and periodicals. This campaign of repression is backed by a hysterical campaign by the press against the anarchists and "terrorists", and by the active complicity of the State.

Here are the essential events in chronological order:

Tuesday October 18, 1977: The news of the assassination of Baader, Enslin and Raspe circulates in Athens. Some groups and individuals go to the Polytechnic School, a place considered a sanctuary and traditionally an area of free political discussion. Some megaphones are used by militants to denounce

the crime of the German State; there are some appeals for a meeting at Propylaea, another place considered a sanctuary and "asylum". At 7.30 pm a group of plain clothes policemen arrest without pretext the well-known Greek anarchist publisher Christos Konstantinidis, 28 years old. Konstantinidis, a member of the publishing co-operative, "Diethnis Bibliothiki" has been a target for police harassment for many years. Well-known for his activities during the occupation at the University of Athens during the famous student revolt in November 1973, he was actively sought by the police afterwards, but went underground for three months. Two months before the downfall of the military regime he was arrested and detained without charge for 10 days. Since the establishment of parliamentary democracy, he has been arrested many times, without reason, and was twice brought to trial with serious charges.

On one such occasion he was arrested in front of the court during the trial of Pohl's extradition. He put his hands in his pockets when arrested and a reporter took photos showing him doing so, proving that he was innocent of the charge of attacking the police. He was acquitted of the charges during the appeal. Yet another instance in May 1977, the police invaded his house and arrested and savagely beat up all the house guests that were staying there at the time. Konstantinidis was not at home, but they arrested him later as he was returning. Seven persons were brought to trial on a variety of charges, but all seven were later acquitted of the charges of resisting authority and injuring the police. But the prosecutor appealed against acquittal and Konstantinidis and Sylvia Papadopoulou received suspended sentences of 40 and 20 days respectively.

Immediately after the arrest of Konstantinidis, the riot police attacked all those in front of the Polytechnic School, on the day of October 18th. They arrested Michalis Sizpos, a 20 year old worker. For half an hour the police poured on brute force and spared nobody. Later a demonstration of 200 anarchists took place and was immediately attacked by the police and dispersed. Georges Tsachtsizis, a 17 year old worker, Sofia Panagiotidou a 17 year old high school student and Panayiotis Hantzouranis also a 17 year old student, were all arrested.

Wednesday, October 19, 1977: The press shamelessly presented these arrested as "terrorists" thus attempting to create a climate of opinion that would permit heavy sentences. The daily newspapers went out of the way to create a picture of lies with talk of an "international anarchist plan for the provocation of violence," and beginning an endless

series of article with wholesale fabrications like "Carlos has been seen in Athens," and "Konstantinidis was visited a week ago by two German lawyers of the Red Army Faction" and so on.

Two more demonstrations took place that afternoon. One was in Thessaloniki, which was small. It was organised by an "unofficial" Maoist group with the participation of some anarchists. The police attacked the demonstrators without reason, arresting 13 people. The second demonstration took place in Athens with some 600 anarchists. It was very militant and its self-defence was very well organised. Some clashes with the police took place, some glass windows were broken, but there were no arrests. An 18 year old technical school student, Stavroula Langadinou was arrested half an hour after the demonstration.

Wednesday, October 19 – Thursday, October 20th: A revolutionary armed group (on the far left) attempted to put bombs at the AEG, a German factory in Piraeus. Shooting took place with two policemen. One member of the group, Christos Kasimis was killed trying to escape, but the others got away. The next day after this incident the German Consulate in Patras is set on fire, and a bomb is set off at the German consulate in Heraklion, Crete. Naturally this incident is fully exploited by the press in order to again create anger against those already arrested during the demonstrations. The press continued its lies, such as "... it might be no accident that Konstantinidis stays in Pangrati and the car used by the armed group was stolen at Pangrati," etc.

Friday, October 21: Persecution begins against "unknown persons" for the "anarchist incidents of Tuesday and Wednesday" on the basis of a law of 1944 as modified by the military junta of 1971, which had not been used until now but had served as a model for the German law on "sympathisers." This law gives the State the basis upon which to arrest and send to trial persons without an actual charge, but merely for what it deems to be grounds for suspecting one of being a sympathiser. From now on anyone can be arrested and sent to prison without a factual charge.

Saturday, October 22: A new wave of arrests and searches. Panagiotis Barbounis a 19 year old technical school student, and Yiannis Stavropoulos, a 22 year old law student are arrested for "possession of arms." The arrest takes place on the basis of "confidential information." The police found the following "arms"- anarchist books and pamphlets; an empty hand grenade from the Second World War used as an ashtray; a piece of chain and a wooden stick.

Saturday, October 22 – Sunday, October 23: All the editors of anarchist and libertarian newspapers and periodicals are arrested as "moral authors (perpetuators)" of the "incidents" of Tuesday and Wednesday last. These arrests include: Kiriakos Vasiliadis, editor of "Here and Now" Michalis Protosaltis, editor of "The Cocq", Nikos Balis, editor of "When..." and Herodis Bakoyiannis, editor of "Socialism or Barbarism." It should be noted that "Here and Now" and "The Cocq" have never published a second issue. The only issues that were published were over a year ago. "When..." ceased to appear after its third issue, dating from early 1976. Only "Socialism or Barbarism" appeared this year and is a periodical published irregularly at intervals of every six months. Its third and latest issue appeared five months ago. Mikos Asimopoulos, a libertarian compose singer and bookseller, and Yannis Felekis, editor of the Trotskyist paper "The Barricade" were also arrested. Kiriakos Vasiliadis was also arrested for "possession of arms," after a search of his home: the police found a piece of chain, a wooden stick and an axe.

The Athens trial of those arrested on Tuesday and Wednesday were held in a climate of fear and unprecedented police activity. The courthouse in downtown Athens was surrounded with police, informers and fascists. Three persons were arrested outside the court house and later released. They were asked whether they were anarchists. The president of the trial was appointed ad hoc.

The first trial was that of Stavroula Langadinou, arrested after the demonstration of Wednesday. There is only one witness for the State, a shopkeeper who had made a statement saying that he had seen her (Langadinou) when she was part of the demonstration. He stated that a person on the demonstration broke his window, and he tried to arrest the man without success. After the demonstration he noticed Langadinou and arrested her instead handing her over to the police. The shopkeeper was not present at the trial. The judge goes through his testimony nevertheless, and after a couple of hours a doctor appears, to say that the shopkeeper could not appear to testify because he was in hospital owing to a serious eye ailment. Despite the absence of the sole witness for the State and despite the protests of the defence lawyers, the trial is not postponed. Langadinou is condemned to one and a half years in jail for "disturbing the peace" and "complicity to damage foreign property." She is taken to prison.

There follows the trials of Konstantinidis and Sizpos. Sizpos was absent because he was sick having been badly beaten by the police (wounds on both eyes and a broken finger). The trial is postponed. Konstantinidis is also sick and vomits

repeatedly in the court, which does not want to hear a word about postponing the trial. The accused is not able to take part in the trial and cannot make a statement. Nevertheless the State witnesses, all of them policemen cannot make the charges of "resisting authority" stick. The prosecutor is thus obliged to propose his acquittal with reference to these charges. The judges however find him guilty of "injuries against authority" and also "resisting authority" and sentence him to three and a half years in jail.

After that, it is unnecessary to describe the third trial. Two defence lawyers withdrew after the second trial in protest. The Mantzouanis trial is postponed; Sofia Panagiotidou is acquitted; and 17 year old Georges Tsachtsitis is sent to prison for two and a half years.

Tuesday, October 25: The trial of those arrested at Thessaloniki enters its 3rd and last day. The State is obliged to propose acquittal for the charges of "disobedience to authority" because prosecutors declare "nobody told them to disperse." But the verdict of the judge is nevertheless as follows: ten persons are found guilty of various "injuries" against authority and for "disturbing the peace." Karakitsos and Karabelias are sentenced to 28 months in prison; Katsaras is sentenced to 27 months, and seven others to 22 months each and the rest are set free provisionally until the trial is set to appeal, while three others are acquitted.

The trial of the "moral authors" takes place. The State found it difficult to accuse them of any specific act. The judges are full of searching questions. "Would you participate . . . ?" "Would you agree to . . . ?" "Could you give us the name of . . . ?" Asimopoulos had been interrogated for having sung anti-military songs last April at an anti-war meeting. Finally the court decides that the "moral authors" are to stay in jail anyway until the date of another trial. They will thus stay in jail for six months, and thus for another six months without trial. It is hoped that they will have another trial one or two months after the National Elections of November 20th.

Even liberal lawyers like Evangelos Yiannopoulos, president of the Lawyers Association of Athens rose in protest at this shame called "justice."

It is clear from the above that the government of Constantine Karamalis, uncertain about the future of his party at the polls cynically used recent events in other parts of Europe to justify his police repression campaign against the anarchist movement in Greece, crying all the time that the Left is involved in whatever. This old Greek politician's trick to panic public opinion has been used time and time again. Will it work?

In the meantime libertarian ideas have

been outlawed in Greece.

The date for the trial of Christos Konstantinidis and the other thirty odd anarchists has been set for January 30th, 1978.

The Greek comrades plead for financial assistance, as their movement is mostly young working-class people. They also ask for more letters of solidarity from abroad. They are sad to note that they have not received much of either thus far from outside of Greece.

In Greece the following activities have been organised and will be organised in the near future: a public demonstration during the official celebrations commemorating the November 1973 student uprising, the distribution on a large scale of a pamphlet, information appearing in the independent left-wing weekly "ANTI" and a public concert for publicity and fund-raising just before the trials.

A defence committee has been formed, but is desperately short of money with which to fight the new trials proposed against the "moral perpetrators". Money can be relayed via the Black Cross or sent directly to Sylvia Papadopoulou, "Diethnis Bibliothiki", Delfon 2, Athens 144, Greece. (Try not to mention "Diethnis Bibliothiki," however.

Letters of protest are extremely important — the more the better. (Letters from "prominent" people will also carry weight with the authorities). The letters can be used by defence lawyers during forthcoming trials, and should be sent to:

- (1) Evangelos Yiannopoulos, President of the Lawyers' Assoc. of Athens, Panepistimiou 34, Athens, Greece.
- (2) "Eleftherotypia" Panepistimiou 57, Athens, Greece.
- (3) "Ta Nea" Christou Lada 3, Athens, Greece.
- (4) with copies of all letters to Sylvia Papadopoulou — address given above.

What remains to be done!

- (1) We have mailed out a petition to various groups and individuals throughout North America. The returns so far have been very slow. We urge you all to hurry along in getting signatures.
- (2) We have also sent out an urgent appeal for money and while we have sent an initial sum to Greece, funds are still urgently required, so please send whatever you can immediately.

Greek Information Service,
c/o Our Generation & BRB,
3934 St. Urbain,
Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review No.3,
140pp, £2.00 + 30p p+p. Now available.

THE SALLY ANN

A Christmas tide TV play "Rachel and the Beelzebub Bombardier" repeated for viewers a hoary myth about the origins of the Salvation Army — that the brewers in the 1890s hired rowdies (The Skeleton Army) to break up the Salvation Army's temperance meetings. This is repeated from generation to generation with no one querying why the brewers apparently changed their minds as to favour the Salvation Army, by allowing them even to sell the War Cry in pubs. It was not exactly a miracle.

For a more likely version of the story is that the rowdies came *first*, not the Salvation Army.

They fought the then numerous Evangelicals, Independent ranters, with a variety of little missions, who physically attacked licensed premises, like the notorious temperance crusaders in the States. The brewers hired the rowdies to break *them* up. There was a Skeleton Army, the Starvation Army and so on. Among the hired bullies was a young man, almost certainly half-Jewish, who held his mimic Evangelical meetings of the 'Starvation Army.' Soon he began questioning the miserly beer money from the publicans when the pickings were greater playing it straight.

As William Booth (he may have taken his name from the gin) he made history. He never understood much about religious living but he was born a showman. (Some say he may have come from a circus family). The organisation he founded, in co-operation with the brewers, put the Evangelical militant anti-drink people out of business.

It brought a great industry into being — getting money out of the rich by frightening them with stories of what the working class would do if inflamed by 'poverty, drunkenness, crime and anarchism' — and organising a 'philanthropic' enterprise that continues to make money. If anyone thinks that nevertheless it does a lot of good, ask an unmarried mother or a dossier about the Sally Ann's hostels; and also ask a uniformed Salvationist where he or she happens to work . . . 10 to 1 it's a job provided out of the funds that come in for the former.

Some may say this version of the Booth story is founded on gossip and innuendo. So it is. But the official story is founded on fabrication, not 'Blood and Fire' but wind and piss. Booth always threatened legal action when questioned about the true origins of his movement.



Paul Trevor

Part of the response to the National Front demonstration at Lewisham.

Where the NATIONAL FRONT RULES

Where has the National Front achieved power? Not yet has it made any major electoral impact. Not yet has it been chosen by the ruling class to carry out the task of smashing the working class organisations . . . the Labour Party has *that* job, the fascists merely help to erode them. Where then can uniformed fascists, wearing their National Front badges if not their swastikas, censor left and libertarian publications, prevent organisation, harass blacks, sneer at Jews, issue orders that must be obeyed, beat up the disobedient and isolated, while spreading propaganda to seduce part of their subjects to assist in the intimidation of the majority?

Where? In Her Majesty's prisons, under licence of the Home Secretary.

There the National Front is in power. It may not have as yet a majority of officers: but it has (as the Government admits) a great number and that is power, for fascism requires only a minority to rule and those prison officers who do not follow the National Front line in theory must obey it in practice, for warders must show a common front before the prisoners.

We do not think it important, as some do, that the National Front has started to organise schoolkids to harass their teachers. Teachers need harassment — and even libertarian teachers need bringing up to scratch and the incentive to fight for their ideas; freedom cannot be dished out like soup and milk — that is the way of the welfare state.

We do think it important when fascists organise teachers to harass kids — and united action recently in one town by both black and white kids to get a fascist teacher (standing as a National Front candidate) the sack is a pointer along the way — after all the kids concerned aren't (so far as we know) conscious libertarians. More important than getting the teacher the sack would be organising indiscipline and see how authoritarianism would fashion up to that — without the backing of jackboots, it would collapse in hysterical resignations.

But prison officers have the backing of jackboots; that is why the presence of National Front officers has to be fought. When the 'jackboots' tactic fails the fascists run for cover.

They can be recognised in two ways.

One is by anti-colour harassment which the National Front never tries to conceal, being — unfortunately — certain of its ground in the atmosphere of today where it is less certain of expressly anti-semitism.

The other is by preventing anti-fascist publications coming in whilst letting fascist publications circulate freely.

The rules regarding what prisoners can read are obscure and contradictory. There are some rules — often contradictory — regarding pornography. But regarding political censorship nobody can say for sure what the rules are.

Kropotkin Out, Hitler In

We have many readers in prison who can receive Black Flag and libertarian literature. On the other hand, many want it and can't get it. Some governors prohibit all anarchist literature — book, pamphlet, newspaper. Others prohibit *some* but not others, but without logic: Berkman can go in where Kropotkin is banned; Durruti's life is allowed where Emma Goldman is banned. Such is our experience. Some prisoners can get Black Flag wherever they are, even in jails where other prisoners, sometimes on greater, sometimes on lesser security, cannot. Some on remand can get what they like,

others are told that it is 'unsuitable' or 'tendentious'. We were told of the "obvious danger of subversion" of the prisoner in one case where the prisoner in question was actually responsible for writing a bit of it before he went in.

But National Front literature can go in always, anywhere and at any time, be it no matter how inflammatory, how subversive, how tendentious. What Home Office rule says **Kropotkin Out, Hitler In?** None. It is the whim of National Front prison warders — it does not even go to a higher level — and is the sure fire method of recognising where the National Front rules. It can be challenged by all libertarian or left publications with contacts inside insisting that they should receive what literature they wish to read, and can pay for or have sent to them, or if not, quote the rule that favours Hitler. It is not the Government which resists: it is the National Front warders. As the Home Office must show solidarity with the warders, make sure the politicians and bishops who inveigh against the "evils of fascism" stand by their alleged principles.

When these fascists are more widely known, something will be done to begin the process of seeing that the fascist conquest of power under the Home Secretary is curbed. Prisons will never become democratic and fascism is their natural ideology. But if the NF is allowed as at present, uncurbed power in prisons, the National Front will march to power as Mussolini did to Rome — that is to say, not march but be driven along in a Government coach.

ANARCHY NO RULES O.K!

It is pathetic to see how National Front slogans proliferate all over the walls of London and libertarian ones are nowhere — compared with Paris, let alone Barcelona. Yet there are signs of life on the battle of the walls — A is thrusting forward again together with many anarchist slogans (though surely libertarians could do better than "N.F. = Nazi Fuckers" — aren't we all *some* kind of fuckers?)

A piece of superb graffiti is altering NF in a twinkling to RAF (how easy to persuade a police officer not to make a charge). A bit more subtle is putting an "N" before SWP.

The originality of situationist-type slogans always hits home — the "God is alive and well and engaged on a less ambitious project" — type of thing, and commendation on one graffiti — "The only social contract I signed said fuck all governments."

But what is most intriguing about libertarian slogans whatever their merits is where do the perpetrators come from? There are seemingly no anarchists around where I live, yet the walls have loads of painted anarchist slogans and you can follow your way to my home from the railway station following the anarchist graffiti (I know it sounds a feeble defence officer, but I never did it...) Anarchists, come out!

And surely we could do better on the phone-ins?

Join the Waffen SS



**Kill terrorists
and wogs!**

**Free guns;
free bombs;
free funeral!**

Apply G-in-C Spandau Prison

(Regret Jews only as available;
other Semites may be substituted
without notice)

THE LABOUR PARTY BROADCAST

Almost the entire media seems to have denounced Labour's now famous "National Front" broadcast which achieved celebrity as the first party political broadcast not to guarantee not to send TV viewers off to the loo for a natural break. With one exception, the insinuation that the Front was run by "ex-convicts" which after all could be said of any dedicated political movement

in opposition (even the Labour Party once had people prepared to go to jail for their beliefs), we found it interesting and informative. Not that there was anything one did not know, identifying the National Front clearly with nazism and fascism.

It was felt by the media the Front should have the right to reply — but they were not (under the heavily biased party political TV arrangements) entitled to a showing; so they got it in huge newspaper publicity and a special question-and-answer TV showing.

Not just television but the entire media, the anarchist movement receives far worse, heavily slanted propaganda, often totally false; this not in the specific "party political" sections but in the news itself. Yet it apparently has no right of reply. Indeed, a day or so afterwards, the radio announcer was heard blithely mentioning that Hull prison was notorious for its "dangerous criminals, terrorists and anarchists."

The concern for free speech is entirely for right-wing authoritarians and not for libertarians.

PA CHIN

Readers of Black Flag — the one paper to have consistently supported the Chinese Anarchist novelist Pa Chin throughout his trials and tribulations of the Maoist period — will recall that the last news given of him was his trial at the 'People's' Stadium of Shanghai in June 1968 — when he was forced to kneel on broken glass and listen to the shouts accusing him of being a traitor. Television audiences were astounded to hear him shout, "You have your thoughts I have mine. You can't change it even if you kill me."

His house was ransacked and his collection of anarchist literature from all over the world destroyed. Since then the old writer — acknowledged as China's greatest revolutionary writer (even by the Maoists who accused him of being a literary dictator) — has been sent to work in the fields. It is no longer the practice to send Anarchist writers and professors to work in the factories as the workers have displayed too much sympathy with them and in many cases helped them to adjust — which is supposed to be the meaning of the transaction. But this was in Maoist jargon, the bourgeois corrupting the working class rather than the working class putting the bourgeoisie on Marxist lines!

Recently a British correspondent in China interviewed Pa Chin and this was broadcast from London. Pa Chin says that he is an anarchist but the Government 'thinks' it has re-educated him. After the correspondent interviewed Pa Chin in a hotel, the waiter exclaimed to the journalist, 'But surely that was

the great Pa Chin! — symptomatic of the respect in which the workers hold him despite his 'humiliation' and 'degradation' by the rulers of China, or perhaps because of it. (We hope to obtain a transcript of the broadcast — if we do, it will be published in the Review).

In *Minus Seven* (Sept/Oct. 77) an entirely different and uncharitable view of Pa Chin is taken. They write: "Pa Chin has often been mentioned fondly by anarchists in the West. This is probably due to the very sympathetic portrayal of Pa Chin by Olga Lang in her book 'Pa Chin and his Writings.' Pa Chin might be the only Chinese anarchist that many people can identify by name. It must however be pointed out that while Pa Chin was active in the Anarchist movement in China in the thirties and the forties and had an important impact on the ideological thoughts of many young people in those days (his novels were popular and instrumental in creating left-wing sentiments among the Chinese youths but his anarchist writings and translations had only a limited circulation). Pa Chin is no longer an anarchist."

Pa Chin is not the only Chinese anarchist known in the West — but he had influence in China as a populariser of anarchism in the 20s and 30s. The *Minus Seven* group do not belong to the Chinese tradition proper: they say themselves frankly: — "The anarchists in Hong Kong owe little if anything to Pa Chin or the traditional Chinese anarchist movement to which Pa Chin belonged. Rather, they have arrived at their present position through their reading of English and French texts, through their actual contacts with anarchists overseas, through their own struggles and reflections and through their encounter with ex-Red Guards who had fled from the bureaucratic, repressive Maoist regime in China. Very few anarchist books in Chinese are available in Hong Kong or anywhere else. This is indeed a very important task facing the youthful anarchists in Hong Kong. It is difficult to estimate the influence and strength of anarchism or libertarian communism in China today. But certainly, various elements and movements can be identified as possessing anarchist or libertarian tendency. Such are to be regarded as spontaneous anarchism, the origin of which cannot be traced back to Pa Chin or the anarchist movement in Pa Chin's days. More exactly, spontaneous anarchism developed through popular instinct, through the readings of the more libertarian tracts of Marx and Lenin as well as through the total disillusionment with Mao Tse-tung and the Maoist regime."

It is a grave error on their part to look to the West, which has little or nothing to offer them — and even to base their

magazine on a book of Orwell's with small significance today — rather than to open up the range of the Chinese anarchist movement to the West which has much to learn from it. This, despite his weakness as one old man isolated in China, Pa Chin managed to do for years. This is why he is held in fond affection abroad — not because of Olga Lang.

Minus Seven then go on to reproduce in almost the whole of its issue, a letter and articles by Pa Chin recently which they say well demonstrates that he is no longer an anarchist. We are not so sure. True, the text is full of obeisance to 'our great leader and teacher, Chairman Mao,' 'beloved Premier Chou,' 'radiant



writings,' 'bright and sparkling future' and all the required kow towing no less beloved by the new mandarins than by the old. He also clearly jumps on the bandwagon of attacking the Gang of Four, but uses what we understand to be a common ploy in ostensibly attacking the "ultra-rightist" deposed Maoist leaders and charging them with all the crimes committed by Mao. From a 'western' standpoint this certainly bears all the marks of apostasy and even treason but Chinese comrades whose standards during years of illegality, struggle and poverty vary from those abroad, take quite a different view. *Minus Seven's* standards are self-admittedly those of the 'West' — there is no reason why they should not be — but Chinese workers well understand that writers have to write.

I am well aware that we denounce English journalists as lackeys and hacks who serve capitalist papers and who write one thing and think another — no one does more so than those who work in the printing trades! But one can't compare someone struggling to live, and actually have influence, on mainland China by the standards of El Vino's in Fleet Street.

the FIRE~MEN.

Had there been a spectacular number of deaths by burning in the first few weeks of the firemen's strike, there would have been a tremendous public revulsion of feeling against the strikers, whipped up by the media... and the firemen would probably have won their case. The Government would not have been able to stand out obdurately against their claims. But there have been fewer fires than ever and few deaths that would not have occurred anyway; sometimes due to the fact of regular firemen coming out to save life. So the Government holds out and, while the TUC has virtually abandoned the firemen to their fate, the strike goes on. If it drifts on for a few more months, the firefighting service of the country will have dissipated itself; there will be nothing for the trained men will have taken jobs elsewhere, anywhere.

Surely this calls into question techniques of strike action, for the general supposition is that if a body of workers comes out, its action will bring an industry to a standstill and the employers will capitulate, but not in the public sector where considerations of policy, rather than of profit, dominate. Thus the only hope of the firemen, along orthodox thinking, would be for solidarity from other unions but, — apart from resolutions and a (very) little cash (more came from the public) they got nothing.

The Fire Brigades Union has never contemplated strike action and did not know how to run one when they were in it. The so-called "militancy" of the left consists of saying "stick it out" and urging other unions to take action.

But the fatal flaw is the orthodoxy of trade unionism which refuses to consider any solutions outside the accepted norm.

A sit-in should be followed with positive demands that can here and now be implemented. How should a fireman's sit-in operate? It would consist of continuing to give service but charging for it. Firms who want fire protection should pay for the privilege. And they do (in a way); they pay insurance. This is how fire brigades began; this is what was the normal procedure until the State stepped in and took them over. The insurance companies paid them. If they pass on the extra costs involved to premiums, so be it — it is cheaper, in any case, than million pound fires.

Everybody knows that firemen would still defend the lives and homes of those

unable to pay. But the great warehouses, stores, filling stations and other huge commercial enterprises that represent major fire risks should reasonably expect to pay for what they get: above all, the insurance companies should pay for their stock in trade as every other commercial firm has to do.

Perhaps the fire brigades should be taken away from the municipalities which cannot pay for them; perhaps they can be wholly or partly subsidised by the insurance companies and other concerned parties who at present get their bills paid out of the public purse. The principle has been established by the salvage companies.

It is on these positive lines the firemen should, we feel, be thinking, rather than on the Welfare State lines of "ten per cent or" It needs imagination and drive and there is none from the entrenched leadership of the union. If a few brigades tried out the idea of "sponsorship" they might, at least, do as well as the cricketers. The great insurance companies have decided to pass on part of their profits to subsidising professional cricket.

the Boxer Rebellion.

George Francis is a professional trainer of boxing and he believes in the sport. In a lengthy interview in the London "Evening News" (Dec.20) he urges teachers to "bring back boxing and knock out violence."

Boxing entails a lot of hard work, careful training and what is sometimes called discipline — but is self-discipline, which is what is meant by using the word "sportsmanship." It is the reverse of the anti-social behaviour seen at football matches, for instance, where young hoodlums run amok. "It teaches self-respect and respect for others," says Francis. And the same goes for such "martial arts" as Kung Fu and the various sports arising from jiu jitsu (which has incidentally been taught in the West as a women's sport since the early days of the century.)

The "manly art of self defence," as it has been called, is the very opposite of hooliganism; it is not trained boxers whom you see terrorising crowds at football matches — it is a few young hoodlums who use knives or bottles. Women who can defend themselves — for self-defence arts in general are not in reality exclusively "manly" as boxing is in particular — are not those who must undergo the humiliation of rape, or even

have to put up with insult, since self-confidence is generated by some knowledge of the defensive arts.

It is true that there are many who cannot defend themselves for one reason or another (often lack of educational opportunity) but the presence of those who can would be one step in the elimination of the bully in society which is a keynote of our times. A few boxers in a crowd would not be the bullies. They would more likely inspire the rest to turn round and beat the fuck out of a few yobboes determined to terrorise the majority.

The internal secret of fascism is to pick on an unpopular minority, always in the ratio of 10 to 1, and rely on the apathetic majority doing nothing. (It is the faceless majority who are the real villains!) Then they turn to other small or individual units until they have the reputation of being tearaways — or finally of being invincible. Nobody resists for fear of being picked on individually, until the majority are cowed — from football matches to the Third Reich.

Sports Minister Denis Howell is right to say that "eliminating physical contact in sports in many of our schools has much to answer for" — though he probably wasn't thinking beyond football hooliganism. Why was boxing eliminated as a by-product of State socialism and the Welfare State? While football remained the darling of the sports establishment in education until mass violence at spectator-football opened their eyes, boxing (states the *News*) was phased out of London schools about sixteen years ago, mainly as a result of a campaign by MP Dr. Edith Summerskill, a lifelong opponent of the sport."

This is true but the now Baroness Summerskill was not exactly a "lifelong" opponent of the sport. It was the result of a sudden, traumatic happening.

She was a lifelong ultra-pacifist and a Labour Party supporter who waited for years for a safe seat at Edmonton — where old Mr Broad hung on until he had to be wheeled off — and finally got into Parliament in a famous by-election in Putney, on a purely pacifist ticket. It was a notable reverse for the National Government, and she was marked for a Cabinet Post in a future Labour administration — but with the war, she went into the Home Office and helped to imprison conscientious objectors who could not answer the requirements of the tribunal (her own son did so successfully, the requirement being able to put across an establishment-case with adequate literate fluency).

Dr Summerskill accepted collective responsibility for the atom bomb — and we find her taking a passionate interest thereafter not in the pacifism she abandoned but in . . . the evil effects

of boxing.

Some might think even commercialised boxing exploiters had a lot less to answer for than the worthy barons. It used to be argued, maybe still is, that "boxing leads to war" by encouraging aggression. Who "led" to war? Rocky Marciano? Joe Louis? Max Schmeling? Kid Berg? Alas none of them made more than P.T. corporal . . . it was respectable gents in striped pants and black suits who never swing a briefcase in anger who led the people — not their aggressive instincts either — to march blindly to war in defence of rotten regimes.

ROON 'N' ABOUT the first word- CAREFUL!

On the walls of the bullring in Madrid young Anarchists demanded "Amnesty for Bulls Also." By the Zoo in Barcelona anarchist graffiti said "Zoo = Prison, Amnesty for Animals."

It would be a grotesque exaggeration to say quite in the style of the package deal left (libertarian version), that there can be "no revolution" unless we also liberated animals. But that we *should* make some attempt to liberate animals and to cease from the relentless exploitation of them, is certainly true.

Kenneth Levasseur and Steve Sipman are charged in Hawaii with liberating dolphins. They set free, say reports, "a pair of priceless dolphins who had learnt to communicate with humans in an artificial language." It sounds like "Illuminatus!" but it is a perfectly serious case in which two young men face imprisonment.

Ken goes so far as to say that one of the dolphins was so intelligent that she told him she wanted to be set free. True or false? But the fact is that Prof. Louis Herman had spent four years "painstaking research" in the endeavour to teach dolphins to communicate (or perhaps to teach humans to communicate with them). Dolphins are certainly the most intelligent of the animal kingdom and it may be, higher than mankind in IQ though not in domination skills.

States Prof. Herman: "Kea (one of the dolphins) has become very sophisticated . . . we would ask her more and more difficult and interesting questions and get tremendous responses."

If she was so intelligent, would she not have demanded her freedom? It calls to mind the German horses . . . one German professor had (he claimed) taught some horses to communicate by stamping their hooves in prison-alphabet style. (Maurice Maeterlinck was one of those convinced by his claims). It was either genuine or they were extremely well-trained performers. Either way they vanished into the round-up for cavalry in World War I. (Is it possible that somewhere in a shell-torn trench a soldier might have heard a horse tapping out the word . . . HELP . . .?) But those who took these horses for war were not criminals. Those who set the dolphins free are so accused.

Maybe dolphins don't have to try too hard to beat us in the intelligence stakes, and in the compassion stakes they have us licked hollow.

the CANON

Because of his pacifistic views, Canon Collins was regarded as Left Wing (whatever that means) and in the far off days of CND was a central figure of the nuclear disarmament movement. Now he comes out against the firemen's strike, comparing them with the Nazis; the PLO, or the German liberation movement (described by him as the Baader-Meinhof gang). How can so progressive a canon be so reactionary, you may ask? It is summed up in the Gospels when the idealistic young man is told first to give all to the poor and, because he has great possessions, he goes away sorrowing . . . the of many a would-be revolutionary Christian.

1984

First time available in UK (no licence required), low power laser (for professional use only), this very professional equipment is currently in use by the East German security force, primarily for crime prevention and detection. The laser comes complete with mounting tripod, decoder, headphones, and telescopic sights. The laser can be aimed at a window pane up to a distance of 850 yards, and will pick up conversation in the room. This is picked up through a high power sound filter that picks up the window pane oscillations and transmits it back to a decoder. The sound reproduction is 100 per cent and is very easy to operate and install. Only six units available. Price £1,250. For demonstrations ring . . .

Exchange & Mart advt. Dec. 29 1977.

WANTED

"WANTED" notices, in several languages, have appeared in British police stations, with photographs and allegations concerning members of German resis-

tance groups. It also states that there is a reward offered for their apprehension.

Surely this is the first time that such a notice has appeared? Yet not one newspaper, to our knowledge, has commented on this extraordinary precedent, which must be added to the precedent of allowing European police to raid British homes, with a Scotland Yard officer along to give it some appearance of legality.

Is it to be confined to Western Germany (which confesses that in this matter it is working in close liaison with East Germany)?

This is surely the end of political asylum and independence from foreign tyrannical governments as we have hitherto known it. There is no apparent reason why Soviet police should not co-operate with Scotland Yard in capturing their escaping dissidents, nor why they should not post up "Wanted" notices — though perhaps the media might actually dare to comment on that.

MORMON

Strange that case of the lady who's supposed to have kidnapped an American Mormon missionary from his Surrey home, tied him to a bed and forced him to have sexual intercourse with her. A (literally) blow by blow account in most papers, most of them immensely enjoying the joke. Rape of a man by a woman hardly counts as traumatic as rape of a woman by a man, and by the man-bites-dog criterion it presumably made news, but one wonders if the comments would have been quite so flippant if the man whose celibacy was thus being invaded had been a Roman Catholic priest rather than a Mormon one?

Grammatical Note: "There is still a large number of moderate fireman . . ." — from the press. Let us hope they are not normally in the habit of proceeding moderately to fires and moderately putting out the blaze.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Why did Beethoven tear off the title page of his "Eroica" symphony?
2. Everyone knows the Emperor Nero fiddled while Rome burned — but what made him grin?
3. How did Jimmy Buchanan, the whisky tycoon, guarantee that Lloyd George would raise him to the peerage (as Lord Woolavinton)?
4. The anarchist-syndicalist colours are red-and-black . . . would the Bolshevik colours be red-and-lavender?
5. Did the Nazis set fire to the Reichstag?

(Answers on page 14.)

A SHORT WALK: 10.12.77

It was a pleasant afternoon and a short walk was no hardship.

They even gave us an escort with six plain dark green buses to protect the indifferent public: or was it to protect us, like kindly uncles? Women, too: God, how can they bear to look such freaks?

Such sacrifice for the state: if they'll do that, they'll do anything. Past the self-assured blankness of solid, worthy buildings, the amused stares of solid, worthy citizens.

Somewhere behind me a cultured voice explained to our foreign comrades that the higher echelons of police are all aristocrats.

Did we look pitiful, under tattered flags, shuffling along like displaced persons? No matter, we were there, making our gesture.

in spite of knowing the futility.

When the first anger recedes

it is a time for sorrow. No, it was no hardship,

this mourning gesture for a sister hanged in her cell, denied even the dignity of a short walk to the gallows.

BLACK FLAG: — Readers Meeting and Social in the Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. on 1st FEBRUARY at 7.30p.m.

ETHIOPIA

Throughout the centuries in which domination fell upon Africa there was one independent Black African country which stood as a symbol for Black independence and culture: Ethiopia. It was wrong that it *should* have done, for the sole mark of its independence was the fact of its State which is a symbol of subservience. But Haile Selassie stood for something for many people, and during the thirties he became a figure-head for resistance to Italian fascism.

Within the Ethiopian Empire, however, the world had stood still. Feudalism still rules, backed by American aid, always fumbling and incapable of backing the right horse, cast in a sinister role by the world yet incapable of bringing any of its projects to success. This led to the downfall of the Emperor whose dynasty had lasted since the Pharaohs, none, not even the Rastafarian sect which had raised him to be their God, so low as to do him honour.

How the Ethiopians must regret the

casting out of King Log and appointing of King Stork; (not that they were consulted) for what has happened is that it has come under the rule of Russian advisers, Cuban mercenaries and local generals, and is reducing the land to devastation in war against its neighbours. They make silent protest in the only way left to them, they vote with their feet and escape the war when they can; and only the execution of mutineers encourages the others to go on. The war against Somaliland, over a strip of desert in Ogaden, is being stepped up by Russia; it can have no possible benefit to anyone living in Somaliland or Ethiopia unless they have a high command in the army or a position in government. Somalia thought — after she expelled the Russians and Cubans — that she had "the West" on her side; its educated vanguard finding

what every child knows that "the West" gives nothing for nothing.

In Addis Ababa, riots are brutally suppressed by the regime which has displaced the "reactionary feudal" regime — which nevertheless resisted fascism and colonialism — only to replace it by a dictatorial and militaristic regime which has *not* resisted Russian and Cuban penetration which gratuitously gives it the "progressive" ticket. This "Left Wing" government is now engaged in brutally suppressing "dissidents" in Addis Ababa and wiping out opposition to the war, and the dictatorship.

Who are the "dissidents"? The press describes them as "Marxists" and the Army generals describe them as "Anarchists." Naturally, the generals are prevented from calling them "Marxists" if they are, since the revolt is against

their Russian and Cuban overlords! The world press is bound by the military-inspired directive to describe Marxists and Nationalists "Anarchists" and Anarchists "Marxists." Are we to infer then that the generals have been forced into the truth, and that the revolutionary movement is Anarchist?

It would be optimistic to do so. One cannot expect that emerging African movements would follow the same lines as elsewhere.

Problems of the State, capitalism and nationalism are all totally different. What has arisen as "socialism" is merely the Army in power, as seen in Franco's Spain, in most Arab countries, and many parts of Latin America. It is "left wing" only in that it looks to the "communist" countries for military and economic aid rather than to the "western" countries.

SOUTH AFRICA

No one disguised their view that Steve Biko was murdered for his expressed opinions about South Africa and its racial policies. The world wide epidemic of State murders pathetically disguised as suicide, resisting arrest etc., is about the standard one expects from the organisation of society on rigidly authoritarian lines. If people don't know their place in the hierarchy they are killed.

Somehow the murder of Steve Biko crystallises in an acute form the living lie of South Africa more effectively than the putting down of riots in Soweto. After all the whites in South Africa claim their object is the preservation of civilised standards in the face of the threat of black rule to the north. Amin has clearly been as involved with the murder of black and white people in Uganda and remains the head of State. It's a fact white South Africans comment upon with disgust, yet they copy Amin and even learn a lesson or two from their avowed enemy, the Soviet Union, in the elimination of the opposition.

Despite all the expressed disgust and contempt for South Africa, the capitalist involvement continues unabated. Everyone has been talking for years about the bloodbath to come in Southern Africa. It's already happening and most of the people being killed are black. The only way it could have been averted was for the investors in apartheid to have withdrawn their cash. But the investors never contemplated such a course, because it was apartheid which kept labour cheap and profits high.

Anyone with a modicum of knowledge about economics and Southern Africa realises that the British ruling class only

deprecates apartheid in words — benefiting from its practice daily.

The sad thing about the situation is that one might have expected liberals to realise that capitalism and apartheid are such bedfellows that one can only get rid of the one by destroying both. Yet liberals are all for capitalism and by remaining opposed to apartheid they just demonstrate the two faced posture for which they are renowned.

Yet the socialist alternative with the age old approach of fraternity, equality and justice has no teeth in British politics today. The power, whether Labour or Tory (or Liberal), is capitalist power. Thus the changes that South Africa requires will only be achieved by achieving a radical change in capitalist countries whilst internal revolt rids the world of racism in South Africa itself. Both tasks look very difficult at the moment. But any other course has no possibility of success.

That there could have been changes within a capitalist structure in South Africa whilst breaking down apartheid by stages is certainly true. But now such a course is impossible because black freedom would mean reasonable wages and *that* would achieve a withdrawal of investment. There is not a black bourgeoisie in South Africa that would stand a chance of pushing wages down to maintain the capital investment. Thus South Africa faces apartheid and capitalism or black socialism.

However we know it's not that simple, for socialism has two currents: authoritarian and libertarian. The authoritarian current is much stronger and would seize (indeed has seized!) the opportunities in Southern Africa. State socialism would

achieve only transitory benefits for the black population. Where no black bourgeoisie could suppress the black workers for capitalism, no doubt a black elite would be able to enslave their brothers in the name of state socialism. In fact they wouldn't be a black elite if they didn't.

Which leaves us with libertarian socialism. A current of socialist thought which is weak today though far stronger than many people think. With libertarian socialism — with anarchism — there can be no elites, black or white, no apartheid, no murders in prison, no capitalism. Anarchists are depicted in the Statist and capitalist media as evil murderers — yet it is our declared enemy, the State and the capitalists who aid and abet the State, who carry out the evil murders.

So what has anarchism got to offer the black population struggling in Southern Africa? It may not sound much but it is our ideas we have to offer. They don't change whether people are black or white. Equality and Statism cannot work together whatever the colour of people's skin. With our ideas is our example: anarchists are not racists. Any anarchist who starts spouting racist propaganda is denounced. Anarchists have the same historical evidence of the success of workers' self-management in Spain for blacks as we have for any other people.

We ask our black brothers to join anarchist groups, set up their own or draw from anarchist ideas the inspiration they need to fight for social justice. We will not lead or be led, though we've got plenty to learn and something worthwhile to offer. Anarchists won't agree

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ANTI-VIETNAM WAR WARRIOR

The national liberation struggle in Vietnam was one of the bloodiest 'little wars' in history. Following in the footsteps of the French, the American Imperialists used every means short of atom bombs to try and break the spirit of the struggling Vietnamese peasants who only wanted peace and freedom.

But, try as they might, the U.S. warmongers not alone failed in their evil aims but caused a massive wave of protests against their criminal actions to swell up among ordinary decent American people back home.

There were huge marches to the White House, the Pentagon, and other state institutions. Schools and colleges were taken over by protesting students. Demonstrations were held outside military draft board offices and induction centres and in some cases these offices were also occupied by anti-Vietnam protestors. Big public ritual burnings of draft cards were a commonplace. Bombings of public buildings were also part of the protest campaign. But perhaps the most spectacular of all the many and varied protests against the mass blood-letting in Vietnam were the many hijackings of passenger planes by young Americans seeking to have world public attention drawn to the Hitlerite doings of their government in Washington.

The Vietnam War is now over. But those members of the U.S. Establishment who were responsible for all the bloodshed and the suffering in Vietnam were not punished for their terrible deeds — though they were comparable with the crimes against humanity committed by the Nazi war-criminals who were tried and hung in Nuremberg after the 2nd World War. And while these U.S. war criminals continue to revel in the fleshpots of upper class American society many of those who protested against their murderous actions in southeast Asia remain rotting in prison... possibly to stay there until the very end of their lives. One of these forgotten prisoners is Lorenzo Edward Ervin Jr, who is better known among his comrades as "Komboa."

Komboa is a 30-year old Black man. And he is now serving a life sentence for hijacking a plane from Atlanta in the south-eastern United States to Cuba as a protest against the actions of the U.S.



mass murderers in Vietnam.

He was born and raised in Chattanooga, Tennessee — a small city on the border of the state of Georgia. He came from a poor working class family and was raised by his mother and aunt. In 1965, at the age of 18, he joined the U.S. Army. His reasons for doing this were much the same as caused so many other Americans in Black ghettos to enlist in the forces. For all of them enlisted in Uncle Sam's killing machine in the hope of escaping the boredom, the poverty, the victimisation by local cops and to seek adventure which they could not find in their hometowns.

For Komboa, joining the American Army was a big turning point in his life. He soon began to develop a keen political understanding of why he and his working class brothers lived in squalid ghettos and were among the most oppressed and exploited of humans in American capitalist society.

During the very first week of his basic training, for instance, at Fort Jackson camp in South Georgia, there was a race riot between Blacks and Whites, which had to be broken up by a squad of military police. After the fighting was stopped, some 400 young soldiers, mostly

Blacks, were shipped in a convoy of buses to Fort Gordon in another part of Georgia. There they found that the drill instructors and officers were vicious racialists who went so far as to deliberately foster tensions between Black and White recruits. Time and time again young Komboa encountered this same kind of racism and he soon came to see that it was part of a programme of control directed at eliminating any joint Black/White opposition to the indoctrination process which is part and parcel of every military training scheme.

After a short time at Fort Gordon, Komboa was sent to Fort Dix in New Jersey for further training while awaiting shipment to West Germany. During this period two events took place which had a profound influence on his thinking. The first was the people's revolt in the Dominican Republic at the end of April 1965 when some 20,000 U.S. marines and paratroopers were sent in to crush the rebels. The other event was the rebellion of black people in the Watts ghetto of Los Angeles some three months later. He began to get a clearer picture of the class nature of American society. The people of the Dominican Republic and the people of the Watts ghetto were ordinary order-taking humans like he was. And they had risen up in angry revolt against those responsible for their oppressed conditions of life. But their masters suppressed their revolt violently — with guns and human robots trained to use them. He let his mind's eye travel further afield — to Vietnam. It was not long before he came to realise that the struggle in Vietnam was between the ordinary people there and the U.S. Imperialists. It appeared, in fact, as just a larger version of the Watts and Dominican rebellions. To his great horror, he saw with clear wide open eyes that, as an American soldier, he was serving the interests of the common enemy of the people of Watts, of the Dominican Republic, and of Vietnam. He wondered what he should do about it.

Just a few weeks after the Watts rebellion, he was flown by a military jet to West Germany. There he was sent to an Engineer unit at the city of Mannheim. From the very first day of his arrival, he was literally bombarded with anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda in general. But Komboa had grown

THE STORY OF LORENZO "KOMBOA" ERVIN

up a great deal. He could now see the real situation and not the nonsense picture that the U.S. military authorities in West Germany would have him believe in. For every day all around him he could see the same old trappings of the racism that had been so much part of his life since birth. He saw the daily Black/White squabbles and fist fights, the way the Black soldiers got the dirty and dangerous jobs, the continual discrimination against Blacks when soldiers were promoted or were put in higher pay brackets, the dividing up of Blacks and Whites in housing estates, and the general apartheid policies which were deliberately pursued by the U.S. Army bosses at all levels.

Komboia and a number of other young Blacks felt it was time to do something about this. A group was formed secretly. It was called "Black GIs United", and it involved some progressive whites. Very soon this group called for a strike and a boycott of the mess hall, the canteen and the enlisted men's club. They got going a letter-writing campaign to U.S. Congressmen and other back home. And, in general, so distributed the old apartheid pattern at the camp that eventually the commander gave in and some changes were made. A few Blacks were selected and promoted to higher ranks, the discriminations in jobs and housing were made to appear less obvious, and a Civil Rights Officer was even appointed to handle the Black "problem." Nothing fundamental had changed. But Black GIs United felt that they had scored a victory. They proved that things could be changed if ordinary people had the will to do so.

As well as attacking the apartheid system in the camp, Black GIs United was also very much involved in anti-Vietnam War activities. And they took part in anti-war demos with German civilians, usually students. The group's slogans were very apt: "No Vietnamese called me nigger" and "My fight is in the USA."

At this time American troops were being sent in ever larger numbers to Vietnam. In 1966 whole units stationed in France and West Germany were transferred to south-east Asia. Black GIs United responded to this by calling on U.S. soldiers to resist the war by deserting or going absent without leave. It was not long before these activities put Komboia and his comrades under the official spotlight. The Army's Criminal Investigation Division (CID) tried vainly to infiltrate the group. But while they did not succeed in this, they began a programme of harassing those they suspected of belonging to it. Komboia was one of those singled out for 'special treatment.' He was continually charged with breaking this little rule and that minor regulation. This caused him to lose his specialist rating and be reduced in rank and pay, as

well as having to do extra overtime. This made him love the Army and its racist controllers even less and when, eventually, papers came from the Pentagon ordering him to Vietnam, he practiced what he preached and went absent without leave himself.

For almost a month he was in hiding. But one day he was spotted by an undercover CID agent who alerted the Military Police, who in army jargon are called MPs. Very quietly, three of these MPs slipped into the social club where Komboia was sitting. They were wearing civilian clothes and without identifying themselves, they grabbed Komboia, belted him with a blackjack and tried to hustle him outside to a waiting CID car. A fierce fight ensued. Two MPs were stabbed and the third was knocked unconscious. Komboia fled. But after a widespread manhunt he was arrested at gunpoint the following day. A few hours later, black and blue all over from a vicious pistol whipping, he was taken to the US Army stockade in Mannheim.

As a result of this incident and because of his political activities, Komboia was sentenced to six months in a military prison and ordered to be discharged from the Army. On the last day of April 1966, he was freed from prison and shipped to Fort Dix in New Jersey where he was given his discharge papers.

When he came back home to Chattanooga, Komboia began working with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). At that time the SNCC was practically the only Black organisation engaged in anti-war activities. His work consisted mainly of distributing the SNCC newspaper at schools, youth centres, and other public places. Much of his time was also spent in working with Black youngsters — teaching them Black history, telling them what the Vietnam war was really about, and trying to influence them away from the usual ghetto practices of boozing, drug-taking, and general anti-social and self-destructive behaviour.

Not unexpectedly, this effort to educate his people did not go unnoticed by the local oppressors and state controllers. He was often stopped by Chattanooga policemen with drawn guns. They would search him and then threaten to "get" him if he didn't stop "all that Black power agitation." He was often followed by cops and he became used to having patrol cars parked outside his home. Once the Chattanooga police went so far as to arrest him and two other Black people on a bogus robbery, car theft and weapons charge. But so obvious was the frame-up that all three young Blacks were acquitted at their trial.

Failing in this attempt to frame Komboia, a special session of the Hamilton

County Grand Jury was convened to try to "investigate" the extent and influence of the "Black power movement" in Chattanooga, and summoned him to testify. And when he refused to obey the summons, he was ordered to be arrested for contempt.

Once more, Komboia had to go on the run. He went to Atlanta in Georgia. There he decided it was time to make a dramatic protest against the war in Vietnam and the US Government's repression of the budding protest movement in America itself. He made plans to hijack a plane. He wrote a letter requesting the Government of Fidel Castro in Cuba to give him political asylum. And he had some anti-war leaflets printed for bringing on board a plane with him.

Then on the 25th February he went to Atlanta airport and booked aboard an Eastern Airlines flight to Miami in Florida. Shortly after take-off, he pulled out a handgun and announced "this aircraft is being commandeered by cadre of the Black Liberation Movement." He told the passengers and crew that he had no intention of hurting anyone, and that there was no reason for them to panic. He pointed out that this was an "armed protest action against the war in Vietnam and the domestic war against Black America, especially the attacks against the Black Panther Party and the SNCC." He said that the FBI had practically eliminated the SNCC as an effective political organisation and that most of its leaders were in jail, dead or in exile, or in hiding. He stated that this was because the SNCC was a serious and committed Black revolutionary group working for the freedom of Black people, and that the US Government was racist and against the liberation of Black people. This was the underlying reason, he added, why Black leaders such as Malcolm X and Martin Luther King had been assassinated, and why so many others had been framed, jailed, or driven into exile. After making this brief speech, he then had the stewardess pass around the anti-war leaflets he had brought on board the plane.

When the plane landed at Jose Marti airport in Cuba, Komboia surrendered his gun to the police. They brought him to some Cuban officials to whom he gave his request for political asylum. They were very sympathetic and very soon he was offered political asylum in Cuba, or in some other country in Africa. Eventually, it was arranged that he would travel to Czechoslovakia and work with some of the African student groups there before finally going to the Republic of Guinea. And so a few months after landing in Cuba, he was given money, a passport, an airline ticket, and was placed on board a Cuban Airlines flight to Prague in Czechoslovakia.

Once in Czechoslovakia, he began working feverishly with several African student groups. And he managed to create much sympathy and understanding among these Continental Africans for the liberation struggle of Black Americans in the USA. At the same time, he served as an ambassador from Black America to China, North Korea, and two African countries.

Komboia soon became quite a public figure in Prague and this quickly brought him to the attention of CIA agents based at the US Embassy there. He began to be followed everywhere he went by these agents and their Czech informers. Not long after this he was very surprised to be told by the Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs to surrender his Cuban passport and to get an American one from the American Embassy. This order seemed very strange to him. But since he was a guest of the Czechoslovak Government he decided to comply, and so he went along to the American Embassy. But, once there, he found that he had made a very stupid mistake. For no sooner had he arrived than he was attacked by a gang of security men and hustled off to an empty room. There he was told that he was to be flown back that very day to the USA where the FBI were expecting him. They even had a flight ticket ready for him. It seemed very clear that there had been some kind of conspiracy between the US Embassy and people in the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs to get him out of the country and back to America.

Komboia felt that he had fallen into a very sinister trap. But he kept very cool and acted as if he was going along with the plans of his captors. He walked quietly out of the embassy building with them. Then he suddenly turned on them, knocked one of the agents to the ground, and ran for all he was worth out of the embassy compound into the maze of streets of Prague where his captors lost him.

After making sure he was not being followed, Komboia then went to see his African friends at the University. They advised him to leave Czechoslovakia straight away, suggesting that he should go and stay with some other African students in East Berlin. He took their advice and armed with a note of introduction written in Swahili, he took a midnight train to East Berlin. As soon as he got there, he looked up the students he had been told about and gave them his letter of introduction. They proved to be true comrades and arranged for him to stay in a student hostel — giving him meal tickets and money as well.

Unknown to Komboia, the American Ambassador in Prague had wired Washington after his escape. Almost immediately a general alert was put out for Komboia. Its effect on the young Black American was devastating. Around

midnight on September 18, 1969, as he lay sleeping in bed, Komboia was attacked by a team of about five CIA agents. They quickly drugged him, and semi-conscious he was hustled out to a waiting car. He was then sneaked past the East German border guards into West Berlin, where he was taken to an inn. The next day he was brought to the US Consulate in West Berlin. There he met a Mr. Billy Ray Lanier who introduced himself as a "Public Safety Officer" of the Agency for International Development. Lanier told him that he had been kidnapped because he was a suspected "communist intelligence agent" and was wanted for federal law violations in the US. He then tried to get Komboia to sign a "confession" and other phoney papers, but all he got from his young captive was a straight No!

This was the beginning of a week of sheer hell for Komboia. When he continued to refuse to sign the phoney papers, Lanier and another man took him to a secluded room, where three other men were waiting. Komboia noticed at once that the walls were heavily padded and that there was a table with some kinds of medical instruments on one side. Lanier told the men "He refuses to co-operate. You can take over now!" Without saying a word, the men put on overalls and rubber gloves. Komboia was knocked to the floor. Then he was told to stand up, and when he refused one of them jerked him to his feet and slammed him against a wall. This was a signal for all three men to attack him for all they were worth. Battered, Komboia slumped back to the floor. Again he was told to "get up!" and was jerked back up to a standing position. One of them grabbed his hair and hissed "This will teach the nigger to do what his black ass is told." Komboia, still reeling felt a blow on the side of his head and then heard someone mutter "Look out don't hit him in the face!"

For almost a whole week these three men tortured Komboia in a highly organised way. They used drugs which made him vomit and defecate continuously. They would not let him sleep. They made him stand on one leg for hours at a time. And they insulted and humiliated him constantly. In the end, he was so weakened physically and mentally that he signed the phoney confession and a "voluntary" repatriation form, which would allow his captors to return him to the US without any questions being asked.

Very soon arrangements were made to complete the final stage of his kidnapping. On September 24, 1969, Komboia was drugged, handcuffed and escorted by two armed guards from the Consulate (Lanier and David M. Small) he was taken aboard a Pan American World Airways flight to New York, where the FBI were waiting for him. He was immediately taken to

FBI headquarters for interrogation, fingerprinting and photographing — after which some FBI agents brought him to the Federal Detention Headquarters in Manhattan to await trial. Then, without warning, a few weeks later he was taken to Newnan in Georgia and there tried by a jury of red necks, who conspired with the equally racist judge to railroad him to prison... where Komboia will stay for the rest of his natural life unless we work to get him out.

M.T. & friends of Komboia

Letters of protest please to the US Embassy & Consulate in your town.
Letters and cards of solidarity to Komboia at 18759/175, P.O. Box 1000, Marion, Illinois 62959, USA.

SOUTH AFRICA - cont;

with black people because they're black as liberals do, nor will we disagree on principle as racists do.

Our position is simple. It is non-racist. However in the same way that centuries of wrongs suffered by women can lead to a turning of the tables which seems to put men always in the wrong and leads at times to a reverse sexism which is probably inevitable on the road to a balanced fraternity of free women and free men, in the same way with race there comes a feeling that centuries of the most appalling exploitation of black people by white people need some type of reversal. Just how seldom this in fact happens says a great deal for the generosity of black people.

Jerry Westall.

ANARCHO-QUIZ;

1. He had dedicated it to Napoleon Bonaparte, who embodied the composer's idea of "the hero" — as representing the spirit of the French Revolution against German autocracy — and tore the title page off in a rage on hearing that Napoleon had made himself the Emperor.
2. Nero grinned when he heard that half the province of Africa was owned by only six men.
3. He signed his cheque to party funds "Woolavington," to make sure both sides kept their bargain.
4. The Lavender and Red Union were US "gay Trotskyists" (puritanical Leon would have turned over in his grave) who changed their name to the Red Flag Union (Bolshevik Tendency) and recently united with the Spatacist League to form one of the definite Bolshevik "vanguards" retaining the colours — so presumably the answer is a qualified yes.
5. No. Van der Lubbe set fire to the Reichstag as a protest call against the Nazis; the Communist Party spread the story that Van der Lubbe was a Nazi "provocateur" to cover up its failure to issue any such call to resistance themselves.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

U.S.A.

FBI agents in Houston arrested three members of the Weather Underground organisation at the end of November, preventing them from attending the



Fortmer

Pro-Life women's rally being held there. The three were part of a 20 strong contingent who had gone to Houston specifically to protect the rally from attacks threatened by the Ku Klux Klan.

Two women, Judith Bissell (33) and another woman, tentatively identified as Grace Fortmer (age 28-32), both from the Los Angeles area, were arrested in a parking lot as they left the rally. The third person, Clayton Van Lydegraf (62) of San Francisco was arrested while driving a car on the north side of the city.

The three are charged with conspiring with two other people, arrested at the



Bissell

same time in Los Angeles, to bomb the office of a Californian state senator. Police claim that 150 pounds of explosive and an assortment of weapons were seized in raids connected with the arrests. None of the three resisted arrest, and bail has subsequently been set at between \$300,000 and \$500,000 per person.

Judith Bissell has been on the run since 1970 when a federal warrant was issued

for her arrest following the planting of a bomb at the University of Washington. Van Lydegraf, who refused to answer questions on the witness stand, has been named as a prominent member of the West Coast faction of the Prairie Fire Organising Committee, with special responsibility for recruitment.

Emily Harris, one of the Symbionese Liberation Army members accused of kidnapping Patricia Hearst, has been transferred to a prison hospital as she had been on a hunger strike. She now weighs less than 41 Kilos.



Van Lydegraf

Two days after Christmas, 30-year old Buddy Cochran escaped from prison after a hacksaw blade was smuggled into his cell, but he was recaptured within 48 hours. Buddy was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment after ramming his E-type Jaguar into a Ku Klux Klan rally in August.

As reported previously in Black Flag, the Weather Underground Organisation (WUO) has split into two factions, one which believes in continuing the armed struggle, and the other which intends to "invert". The Prairie Fire Organising Committee, which is the WUO support arm has also split on similar lines. The West Coast PFOC (to which the three



Buddy Cochran

arrested people belong) supports the Revolutionary Committee faction of the WUO, which still believes in armed struggle, while the East Coast PFOC supports the plan to "surface". By going above ground, this faction hopes to establish a support movement that will provide the nucleus of a new revolutionary workers party (yes another one).

The arrests may provoke a crisis within the WUO, as they are the first since 1970 (excluding voluntary surrenders). WUO activity had anyway diminished during the period of political in-fighting — the last action they carried out was the February, (1977) bombing of the Immigration and Naturalisation Service office in San Francisco, which was intended as a display of solidarity with immigrant Mexican workers in the US. [source: Liberation]

ISRAEL

There is growing dissent among Israel's 33,000 Druze community, particularly among younger members of this traditionally conservative ethnic group, who object to the compulsory military service imposed on them. The Israeli state has reacted by arresting people who have been active in the anti-conscription campaign "under suspicion of involvement in terrorism." Detainees include Asem al-Khatib, from Kfar Remi, secretary of the Druze Initiative Committee and Faragh Hanifas, a deserter from the Israeli army.

In recent years the D.I.T. has been agitating against compulsory military service by actively encouraging desertion from the army. Members have also participated in the demonstrations and strikes that have occurred in Arab villages.

MOSCOW

At the beginning of December a press conference was given in a small Moscow apartment by a group of dissident workers, who claimed to represent groups from 24 different towns. The organisation, which has been inspired by similar groups in other East European countries, particularly the Workers' Defence Committee in Poland, made a statement attacking the poor working conditions of workers and peasants in the USSR and denounced the persecution of victims who raise their voices against abuse.

ITALY

International Federation of Anarchists. The Commission de Relations Internationales de Federations Anarchistes (CRIFA) has now finalised the details of the next International Congress. The Congress will be held between 23 and 27 March,

1978, in Carrara, Italy. In a recent circular outlining plans for the Congress, CRIFA announced the basis for delegate status will be membership of a federation of groups linked by a common programme, pact of association or common ideological basis, unless there is a single federation covering the whole of a particular country. Organisations wishing to send delegates or observers to the Congress are invited to send the names and addresses, and the number of people hoping to attend to CRIFA - Casella Postale 22, 17100 Savona, Italy, as soon as possible before February 15th, 1978.

A survey published by Italian police at the end of 1977, detailed more than 2,000 operations carried out by 112 clandestine groups of the Italian "extreme left." This figure compares with 702 actions in 1975 and 1353 in 1976, and is comprised mainly of attacks against police stations and officials, politicians, journalists and industrialists. The two principal clandestine organisations featured in the report are The Armed Proletariat Nuclei (NAP) and the Red Brigades (BR). NAP which was originally based in Naples and Rome now has groups in all the large Italian cities, while BR has established its operational base in the main industrial zones in the north of Italy.

The Turin paper *La Stampa* quotes the report as saying that 115 Red Brigade militants are now in prison, and a further number of what the police describe as "fellow-travellers". The police themselves say that they are powerless to protect politicians from further attacks, but have gone out of their way to describe the Italian way of "terrorism" as a distinctly national one, without links with the Japanese Red Army, Palestinian organisations, or the German RAF.

The police anticipate a drop in the activities of the clandestine groups owing to increasingly strict prison regimes, and surveillance of suspects, but do predict new and "spectacular" actions in March, the date set for the trial of founder BR member, Renato Curcio.

UK

Small self-adhesive stickers have been appearing on walls and lampposts in a number of towns up and down the country, claiming that the notorious Colonel 'B' who gave evidence for the prosecution during the committal proceedings in the Aubrey Berry Campbell official secrets case is in fact, Colonel H.A. Johnstone. While it is not possible to comment on the accuracy of these claims, we can confirm that other stickers, naming Col. Johnstone as head of UK Signals Intelligence, are correct, as his appointment to GS DI 24 was announced in the Royal Signalling Corps paper 'Wire' in November 1974.

December 10th was an International Day of action to protest at the murder of Enslin, Raspe, Baader and Schubert at the time of writing we know that various groups throughout the world had planned actions to protest at the killings in Stammheim prison but we have not yet heard of any results.

In London 'Black Aid' - an anarchist group that actively supports resistance inside and outside of prisons - called for a demonstration to the W. German Embassy, attended by approximately 200 comrades. The march proceeded to the W. German Embassy from the Victoria Embankment and was largely peaceful except for a brief scuffle when the march turned into Halkin Street leading into Belgravia Square as previously agreed by the police. The police wanted the march to continue on down Grosvenor Place and approach the Embassy from a different direction, but eventually agreed to allow us to go via the agreed route.

The march halted outside the W. German Embassy in Belgravia Square and six comrades delivered a petition to the embassy with three demands; 1) immediate release of the only survivor of the Stammheim massacre; 2) all political prisoners be in groups of 15 as recommended by Independent Medical Experts; 3) an independent inquiry into the Stammheim murders.

FRANCE

Between 1,000 and 2,000 people demonstrated in the 14th arrondissement in Paris to protest against a series of evictions carried out by the authorities against squatters during November.

Official buildings were fire-bombed before riot police moved in with grenades and riot sticks, hurting at least two newspaper photographers.

The photo illustrates a molotov-

Kosti Lakus

Helsinki 25th Dec. '77

The following letter was received by an A.B.C. comrade who had written a letter of solidarity to Kosti Lakus:

Dear Comrade

I thank you for your letter of the 16th instant which brought me great satisfaction. I did not know that my case had appeared in the pages of Black Flag magazine although I have known of this paper for many years. I am in penitentiary of Helsinki City at the present time, imprisoned to 1 year 2 months for stabbing plus the old probation time 4 years 7 months. I am not guilty - really I am not guilty - and my innocence is now clearly proved. My case has already been sent to the High Court of Finland for reduction of sentence. I beg you to be kind enough and write a support letter to speed up the handling of the case to release me without delay. Without external support the case will stay in the High Court from 3 to 6 months. I am a member and co-ordinator of HAPOTOC Family International, P.O. Box 10638, Amsterdam. Address of the High Court in Finland is: Kork. oik. presidentti Curt Olsson Korkein oikeus Pohj, espl. 3, Helsinki, Finland.

I appreciate your support on my behalf very much, I am, very truly yours,

Kosti Lakus, P.O. Box 40, 00551 Helsinki, 55, Finland.

cocktail attack against La Semirep, rue Bardinet by members of the anarchist autonomous groups.

Joel Larive and Patrick Bunoze were caught in the act of sabotaging a bridge at Malville, with the intention of slowing down the construction of the nuclear installations planned there. Police have typically tried to present their action as part of an international terrorist conspiracy.



NETHERLANDS – HAPOTOC expands.

HAPOTOC, the Amsterdam based, anarchist prisoner relief organisation is undertaking an ambitious new project – the HAPOTOC Social Improvement Project. Briefly, the scheme involves the provision of a communal home where many of the long term prisoners HAPOTOC has been helping, can stay at following release from prison, and adjust at their own pace to the outside world.

The project which will be located in North Holland, but will be open to prisoners from all countries, will be run on co-operative lines, with everything owned and used in common. It will provide a secure base for the HAPOTOC Information service and provide the first centre in which Reich's psychological theories can be used to repair the damage done by the incarceration of free people. The establishment of the project is the first stage towards the creation of a world-wide sexual political movement, that will seek to destroy the social causes of repression, and not solely to provide treatment for the world's victims.

If you want further information about the project, or would like to provide financial help, write to HAPOTOC/SIP, P.O. Box 896, 8901-BR Leeuwarden, Holland.

UKRAINE

Iosyf Terelya (33) has already spent 14 years of his life in prison camps and mental hospitals. He was placed in the Vinnitsa psychiatric hospital on November 2nd 1976, but was released after one month. On December 21st (1976) he wrote a letter to KGB Chief Yuriy Andropov, detailing his treatment at the hands of the authorities, with the result that on April 28th 1977 he was again confined to a mental institution. Terelya managed to escape in mid-May, but was recaptured on June 2nd, when he was transferred to the special psychiatric hospital at Dnepropetrovsk.

LITHUANIA

Algirdas Zypre served 15 years in Soviet Labour Camps for his membership of a Lithuanian anti-Soviet underground, formed after World War 2, and his sentence should have expired on January 14th, 1973, but he was not released. Consequently Zypre wrote a number of complaints which resulted in his solitary confinement in a psychiatric hospital at Mordovia, where he has been since October 1973. During this time he has been subjected to beatings and the administration of drugs which have damaged his health.

MOROCCO

25-year old Saida Menebli died at 5.30 am on December 11th in the Averoes de Casablanca prison hospital after a 32 day

hunger strike. She was sentenced to a 7-year imprisonment last February – one of 177 marxists accused of plotting against the security of the state.

Saida was being detained in complete isolation in Casablanca prison, as were two other women, Fatimah Oukacha and Rabea F'touh, who are now also reported to be seriously ill in the prison hospital. All three were taking part in a total hunger strike involving 139 political detainees, in Casablanca and Kenitra jails, who are protesting at the inhuman (and under Moroccan law, illegal) conditions of their detention. They have been subjected to continual acts of violence by prison officials, and have been denied visits from families and lawyers, have been refused correspondence and newspapers – their isolation has been complete.

Reuters Press Agency has consistently misreported events surrounding the hunger strike, which as we go to press is still continuing.



PHILIPPINES

More than five years have passed since Ferdinand Marcos declared a "temporary" state of martial law in the Philippines. More than five years have passed without any of the basic civil liberties: Freedom of Speech, Freedom of the Press, Freedom of Assembly – the Freedom to live. More than five years have passed of detention camps, prisons and torture. More than five years have passed since the Government – in a process that still continues – started to round up everyone thought to be a threat to the regime – workers, peasants, 70-year old tenant farmers, militant priests and nuns, students, professors, union leaders, political figures. Many of those arrested five years ago have yet to be formally charged with any crime.

At every strike, strikers are arrested, and the ringleaders detained. The State, showing its love of the family, has often arrested the husbands and wives of those already imprisoned; other families slowly starve on the outside. The tortures reported in the daily newspapers,

by Jack Anderson and Amnesty International – give the lie to the cynical facade of a so-called "smiling martial law."

Since the declaration of martial law, the dictatorship has tried – without success – to gain international prestige for a regime that rests on terror – the old "bread and circuses" routine. Only this time, the circuses are not to fool the masses, who are already too well acquainted with the Iron Heel to be deceived further – but to fool world opinion. A few examples: the Miss Universe Beautiful Meat Market Contest; the Ali-Frazier Fight; the International Monetary Fund conference; and the latest performance – the World Peace Through Law Conference. In addition, the regime has sought respect for its crimes through the likes of such "intellectuals" as Nobel Prize-winner Carlos P. Romulo – the "P" stands for "Political Prostitute." Nazi Germany had its own stable of "artists" who sang for the jackboot – "people" like operatic star Kirsten Flagstad and philosopher Martin Heidegger. Soviet Russia, too, has nurtured a flock of "artists" to pay homage to the butchers – a list too long and nauseating to give examples. In the Philippines, they have had to import outsiders for the same filthy job – "people" like pianist Van Cliburn and chess master Bobby Fischer.

Behind the glitter, behind the Culture, behind the exhibition, lurks the barbed-wire reality of the detention camps – and the thousands of our imprisoned Fellow Workers.

For them, there are no circuses, no conferences, no culture. For their families – only privation and fear. For their comrades in the Philippines – the all-consuming struggle to survive and fight the dictatorship. For our imprisoned Fellow Workers, our Comrades – there is only us – on the outside, living free. They need our help. They deserve our help.

We are appealing to you to make a donation to the General Defence Committee's fund for our Fellow Workers imprisoned in the Philippines – for them and their families. All contributions will be gratefully accepted, no matter how small.

Make your cheques or money orders payable to "GDC, Local 4" and add a note that it is for the PI Fund. If possible, try to send something each month on a regular basis. It is the very least that we can do.

General Defence Committee, Local 4, P.O. Box 364, Agaña, Guam 96910. British General Branch G.D.C., c/o 226, Embscot Road, Warwick.

JAPAN

International support is urgently needed to nip in the bud new moves the Japanese government has started to escalate repression of radical activities. We appeal to readers of this message to write or telephone the Japanese embassy in their country to protest against Japanese police brutality.

In the wake of the Japanese Red Army's Dacca hi-jack in late September, the government here has deliberately set about garnering public support for a new repressive policy. Air crash benefits, for example, were increased and extended with great fanfares to cover people killed or injured as a result of violent action taken to prevent a hijack.

On October 22nd, three people were arrested for handing out leaflets in front of Osaka station. Osaka station concourse has a reputation like that of London's Speaker's Corner, and groups of all kinds have traditionally used it for leafleting and so on. The action of the Osaka police in this incident seems to be a litmus test of public opinion, and if they get away with it, the next wave of repression will be worse. That is why it is so important to act now before it is too late.

The facts of the case are as follows: Despite Osaka station concourse's reputation, recently — particularly since the strong boost of confidence given the government by its victory in the Upper House elections this summer — police harassment of leafleting activities has been on the up. Right-wing organisations such as Rev. Moon's World Anti-Communism Crusade have not been interfered with at all. The left, however, has been infiltrated by plain clothes men, attacked by riot squads, kicked, punched and had their clothes torn.

On October 28th, to protest at such police harassment, 150 people representing more than 20 workers', citizens' students' and lawyers organisations leafleted in the usual place. Within 30 minutes riot squads arrived and began harassing them. After one hour a representative approached the police chief to protest. In order to pin an assault charge on him the latter began shoving him with his shoulder, and in the melee that followed one person was arrested. This person, who was stark naked as a result of the tug of war to get him back from the police, was then dragged bodily away through the station to the security office where he was beaten up and charge with obstruction. When a lawyer arrived he too was hit and refused access. In the fight that followed, two more were arrested, two hospitalised and almost everybody injured.

These events took place in full view of home-going commuters. When some tried to protest against the police violence, they too were kicked and abused by the

riot police. For many people it was a great eye-opener.

The three arrested people were hauled up in court, but the judge refused to recognise the police charges and dismissed the case. That is the situation at present, but the police are sure to appeal, and a higher court is likely to support them.

A campaign has begun in Japan to awaken people to the implications of the case. There is a real danger that public apathy could allow Japan to clip back into the dark days of the 1930s, and the campaign here is concentrating on this aspect. People abroad can help by writing or telephoning the local Japanese embassy to protest at the revival of *K empeitai* tactics, and demand that the Japanese government uphold the rights given the people in their constitution. There is nothing the Japanese government fears more than bad foreign publicity, and this is our chance to help the Japanese comrades fight repression.

International Committee to Fight Police Repression in Japan.

Japanese Embassy, 43-46 Grosvenor Street, London W.1. 01-493-6030.



WEST GERMANY

Iringard Moeller, who remains in a critical condition after the murder attempt made on her by the authorities in Stammheim prison, is to bring a charge of attempted murder against an unknown assailant in an attempt to force the authorities to reveal more background details to the death on October 18th of Baader, Raspe and Ensslin.

Her own condition is serious, following a hunger strike to protest at her continued isolation. She has been isolated since August (apart from 4 days in September) and is under continuous surveillance.

Klaus Croissant, who was a defence lawyer for R.A.F. members, and who fled to France following a systematic campaign of police and press harassment that culminated in a series of charges being made against him, has been at the centre of a controversy in France. French police literally smuggled him across the French/German border (after a judge ruled that he should be extradited to face accusations made against him by the German government), without allowing him the

opportunity to file notice of appeal.

Since Croissant's "extradition" from France, the German government have openly broken the terms of the Franco-German extradition agreement by bringing new charges against him that did not form the basis for the extradition hearings. He is now charged with organising RAF hunger strikes and adopting their political views.

Verona Becker, a 25 year old former telephone operator, and 2nd June Movement member, was sentenced to life imprisonment in the courtroom of notorious Stammheim prison, at the end of December. She was forcibly brought before the judge for sentencing, and refused to listen to his remarks, fighting against at least six court officials who tried to hold her, before being excluded from the proceedings. Officials also ejected protestors from the public gallery.

The judge found Verona Becker guilty of shooting at several policemen with intent to kill, rejecting a defence submission that a lesser sentence for causing grievous bodily harm be given, for injuries sustained by police officers following the gun battle during which she was arrested. Verona's companion, 23 year old Guenter Sonnenberg was not tried as he is still suffering from head injuries sustained at the time of the arrest.

In 1974 Verona Becker was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment for taking part in an explosives attack on the British yacht club in Berlin, but she was released in March 1975 in exchange for the kidnapped politician Peter Lorenz.

Meanwhile People's News Service reports that the West German authorities have introduced new legislation, designed to legalise existing police practice, including the arming of "anti-terrorist squads" with sub-machine guns and hand grenades and wide powers for raids without warrants. The Christian Democrat Party wants to include "gezielter Todesschuss" (the right to shoot to kill in the legislation).

One optimistic note: a determined attempt is being made to reconstitute the German section of the A.I.T. (International Workers' Association). People wishing to contact German anarcho-syndicalists of the Freie Arbeiter Union should write to P. Teichert, Holstenstr. 196, 2000 Hamburg, 50, W. Germany.

FIESTA for Black X/Mutual Aid project. Bands/Disco 8 p.m., Buffet/Bookstall 7.30
CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Sq
London W.C.1 March 17th
Adm. £1.

Dear Comrades,

I finally got the literature you sent, yesterday. What I received was: *The May 1st Group; Floodgates of Anarchy, Marxism and a Free Society; Anarcho-Quiz Book; The Wilhelmshaven Revolt; Kropotkin's Federalist Ideas and The Russian Tragedy*. Muchas gracias.

I read the book on the May 1st Group last night and was wishing the whole time that my comrades and I had known what was happening with the revolutionary activist wing of anarchism before we went into action. Albert Meltzer described the isolated situation we were in in his analysis of the distorted image of anarchism that developed in the US around the peace and hippie movements — I didn't consider anarchism as a serious revolutionary alternative because of the non-violent attitude projected over here and I didn't know anything of anarchist history at the time. It would have aided me more than anything else to have had that knowledge beforehand — a consistent international revolutionary theory would have made a tremendous impact with all the press we got, at least here in the US, and would have probably done much to clarify the situation for others who were as ignorant and isolated as we were in relation to the anarchist movement in Europe. It really shows how anarchism is suppressed when I think of all the books I read on revolutionary (State socialist) theory and history, Third World liberation struggles, guerrilla warfare etc. without any references to anti-authoritarian movements.

I also finally got and read the book *Durruti: The People Armed* by Abel Paz. Did you read the article on "Terrorism and Authoritarianism" in the August issue of *Fifth Estate*? The author accused Durruti of forcing the people to collaborate with the Republican Government! Everything in the book completely contradicts that statement. I'm thinking about writing the author of the article and asking where he got his facts.

I convinced one of my lawyers to get two subscriptions to Cienfuegos Press during his last visit — I'll follow up on it to make sure he does it. I really appreciate all the literature you send me. I don't want to ever get isolated from the international revolutionary solidarity movement again.

Freedom,
Russ.

(Russ Little, B66002, San Quentin Prison, Tamal, Ca. 94964, USA.

LETTERS

"... Either One Fights Against This System Or One Is Lived By It"

(Revolutionary Cells)

Dear Comrades,

In the last issue of *Black Flag*, there were a couple of articles which deserved to be answered.

The excellent articles on West Germany were marred by the harping back to the Nazi State which at one time existed, but certainly does not now. The present State took over the Nazi State apparatus practically intact, which we have the Brits and Yanks to thank for. But the present State is in its form of repression not like the Nazis, who were into chauvinistic mass mobilisation; the present State is an economic, political and cultural colony of US imperialism (the multi-nationals whose repression is institutionalised and internationalised). In West Germany's case the model for Europe. Going on about Nazis is attacking the wrong enemy, just like those left-wing groups who devote their energy to mobilising against the NF. The enemy with the greatest strength are the Social Democrats and the "right-wing" groups are a welcome excuse to divert from their form of fascism, and to appear liberal.

The author/ess of the article a "Prod in the Ribs" writes:—

"Some of them had authoritarian socialist leanings and would have wanted to be "leaders", but there were no led;..."

We would like to know where this exclusive information comes from, from what we have so far read by the RAF (or 2nd June and Revolutionary Cells for that matter) it would seem to be impossible for someone with those leanings to exist for very long in such groups. Here are two extracts from "The Last Letters of Ulrike."

"Authoritarian leadership structures have no material base in the guerrilla, also because the real, that is voluntary, development of the productive force of each individual is condition, for the effectiveness of the revolutionary guerrilla: to intervene in a revolutionary way despite our weakness, to unleash the peoples war."

"Collectivity is a moment, and its most important, in the structure of the

guerrilla.... The collective is the group, which thinks, feels and acts as a group"

We doubt that those who wanted to have become leaders (if they existed) would have been able to join such groups

The article "Prepare" perpetuates the "myth of armed struggle" (the title of an article in "Revolutionary Anger" No.3 — the Revolutionary Cells' newspaper).

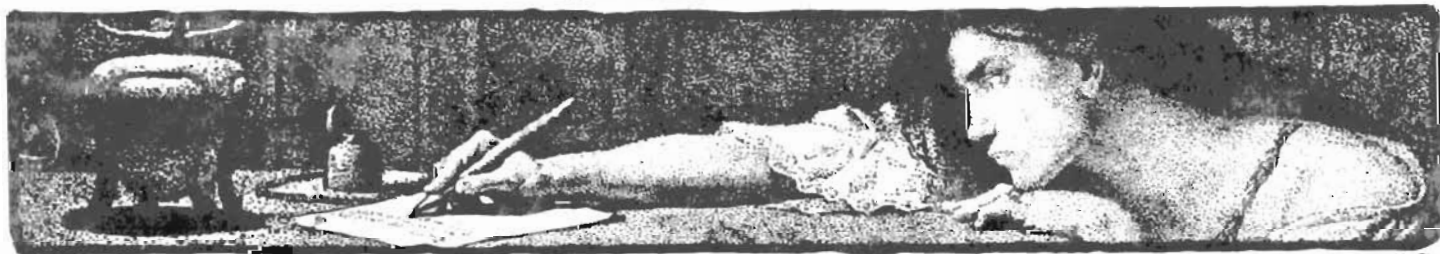
"Prepare" talks of "martial expertise" while the Revolutionary Cells try to dispel the myth that one needs to be an expert or super-human, as "Carlos" is portrayed, to challenge the State to armed struggle. They quote Jon a member of the ETA, who partook in the execution of Carrero Blanco;

"In conclusion one can say; it is not necessary to be a mining engineer to dig a tunnel, nor does one have to be an explosives expert to blow up the road, nor is it necessary to be an optical specialist to place a car so that it marks a certain spot, and to place somebody who gives a sign. To put it differently, one has to destroy the myths. Nobody is a god and nobody needs to be god; it is the work of very ordinary people."

It is part of the psychological warfare's strategy to propagate that people attacking the State by armed struggle are super-trained, super-human, super-organised, super-clever etc. etc. How can humble we identify with that. True a certain amount of determination is needed, commonsense and what have you, but as the Revolutionary Cells write:

"Nothing gets you down more than having to take the worldwide, big and small viciousness, as the fear of the State authorities anger is bigger than the fear of slowly suffocating from ones own stepwise corruption. We are also afraid because the persecution, torture and destruction that this system has thought out for those who attack it, is frightening indeed."

The article lists the various qualities a revolutionary "needs" to conduct a successful revolution, being a specialist jack of all trades, which are the trades of the pigs army. When two armies face each other in a revolutionary situation there will be engineers, mechanics, etc., on our side, the actual revolution will incorporate the mass of people, it is after all a people's struggle. To fight one has to know how to handle and service the various weapons needed, how to conduct oneself in urban struggle i.e. live and survive underground, one cannot be an expert in every form of combat or



support subjects, you'll be at it 20 years from now. It is up to the groups to define the terrain they want to fight on, and not leave it up to the pigs.

To prepare for revolution in an armed sense is to take up arms against the rulers, to destroy their false omnipotence. If one's political analysis is that armed struggle is correct as one way of achieving the revolution, then one should get down to organising with comrades, revolutionary cells (not as a name), taking up arms and attacking the State — where it is politically right to do so. The important part is to keep the communication going between the "legal" and "illegal" struggle, for the illegals to make known their failures, mistakes and experiences, to offer help materially and with advice to others who want to do the same. In other words to be accessible — keeping security in mind. To learn how to fight is to fight and learn whilst fighting.

It is not for anarchists (any revolutionary) to prepare for the revolution but to help in making it.

Black Aid,
Box 71,
Rising Free,

Editorial Reply : 182 Upper St. N.1.
In the current *Leveller* (Jan 78) the Campaign against Repression in West Germany — one of many groups claiming to speak for the RAF — make it clear they are "Marxists" and that to raise the issue of anarchism is "nothing but anti-communist red-baiting" and say less clearly, "it also is the attempt to practically usurp the old dispute between revolutionary marxism and revolutionary anarchism for the advantage of the imperialist state." Thus it would seem clear that some of them (for in reality CAR WG is only speaking for some), — have "authoritarian socialist leanings and would have wanted to be leaders," this is what Marxism is about : leadership and the principle of a disciplined party — without this references to Lenin or indeed to the Red Army are meaningless. Not all labelled RAF would agree with these tendencies. It is difficult to know how the analysis in "Prod in the Ribs" can be faulted. The quotations in no way diminish the fact that some wanted a political vanguard and a disciplined military faction.

The point on which we have persistently harped is that the German bourgeoisie has a "neurotic obsession with the State" and this obsession permeates the whole character of manufactured German public opinion. The Nazi State in the sense of the jackbooted party may no longer exist, but that is not the essence of fascism — what is its essence is the obedient follower whether under Nazi or otherwise, and it is this follower who represents the advance guard of capitalist-state communist repression. Our difference here seems purely verbal — but we have to cast a passing frown at

the nationalistic reference "Brits and Yanks."

We too have some points to raise concerning the article "Prepare" — but we have to learn from the experience of Spanish comrades who after thirty years were not prepared one way or another for the present situation. There have been several comments and more are to come — we will sum up afterwards.

Dear comrades,

My own pacifism is a deep wish for peace but this does not include the absence of activity when I or people close to me are attacked. I wish for a world of peace but when faced with an array of violence both overt and subtle what can I do but defend and not lie down and offer only tokens.

Overt violence includes violence such as the active violence of state institutions, the police and armed forces, both in actual fact and potential. Subtle violence includes imprisonment (actual and potential violence follow) and restriction. Imprisonment is the open and institutionalised version of restriction, as practised by the state. Restriction is the even subtler form of violence in society. It is the denial of our whole humanity as practised by the commodity and the spectacle.

In the face of such violence I can only defend myself, my humanity and the selves of humanity of those around me. The question of the defence of strangers who have common cause is difficult. It is counter-productive to defend the mass of strangers who comprise the working class from something they do not realise. Any sort of active defence of the working class must be covered by a large scale propaganda campaign to communicate the necessity for this defence.

It is true (see F.K.) that we must gain experience in this field for one reason only, as the level of confrontation between manipulated and manipulator increases and the situation of insurrection becomes imminent then a whole variety of activity shall ensue. It would not be enough to be a simple propagandiser and good at it; or militiamen, commando or insurrectionary and good at it; or to be a libertarian communist engaged in libertarian production and good at it; we must not be deficient in any category, the community of anarchists must have at its disposal everything needed to rebel, create and win.

The equipment we need (apart from the material instruments) is this: the total knowledge of what we oppose (it is not enough to call it authority, whatever it is, and say that it is wrong); the vision of what we want; and the practical means to defend our creation both in its process of establishment and once it is established.

Nick Noir.

Dear comrades,

With regard to the FK piece in the last issue, "Prepare," I'd like to say I am in complete agreement with his main points and urgency, but I would like to make the following comments:

He is absolutely right to recognise the potentially authoritarian element of violence when Anarchists are in a tiny minority. Potential sympathisers might be justified in thinking that premature armed action comes from frustration. Armed action is counter-productive when undertaken too early on, i.e. when the struggle and revolutionary organisation are insufficiently developed, or when the State's repression is not widely recognised. The tactic of encouraging that repression through armed attack is based on a false premise. A society influenced by bourgeois morality will be easily persuaded that the repression is in their interest. Obviously there will be a polarisation, and the revolutionary left engaged in armed struggle will gain recruits and supporters, but this new support will be very limited and totally insufficient to accomplish the long term objective. It is a short term tactic which risks putting back the social revolution by several years, for it means fighting the battle on terms which are advantageous to the State.

All this does not mean that preparations should not be commenced as soon as possible as he urges, presumably once a long term strategy has been agreed. But this will require a tremendous self-discipline, for access to arms is a temptation in itself to carry out actions of opportunity which may well be incompatible with the strategy and even long term objective. Many uprisings have failed because of impetuous attacks before everything is ready. This has warned the security forces and led to vast casualties amongst other comrades as a result. The other problem is that secrecy is potentially authoritarian, especially when it comes to co-ordinating operations. Finally I do not totally agree with him when he argues completely against specialisation. Not everybody can be a pilot, explosives expert, etc. Expertise does not mean power automatically. But I fully agree that everybody should accumulate as many skills as possible.

Q

Dear comrades,

The article "Prepare" is an argument that I have heard many times and is certainly not new to the anarchist movement. However F.K. seems to be falling into the Maoist/Trot revolutionary frame of thought — you know, the revolution is around the corner so let's prepare for it.

Personally I don't see anything like that happening in G.B., yet, even though I believe this society is becoming more

oppressive. Most of the arguments can be countered, because they have two sides to them. For instance, it is also a fact that many youngsters go in the forces because they are bored with life, they may come from depressed areas with no work, they have poor family backgrounds and they see themselves as having no future. A lot of these kids like the Army, but there are a lot who want to get out when they are in, witness the soldiers on fire service duty, who are complaining openly to mass media about their conditions, poor sleeping facilities and long working hours. Are these the potential fascists? This whole article reads like something from a war manual. How many anarchist workers are going to give their free time over to training to use weapons and to learn martial arts? What do you do in your free time? Oh, I learn how to use a sub-machine gun.

This approach is completely wrong (just my opinion) I'm no Che Guevara and I ain't no pacifist. But we have to realise where our power lies. F.K. seems to assume it lies in the barrel of a gun or the end of your fist. The only army we should build is a workers' army, the only time that will happen is when the mass of working people are aware enough to make their own conscious decision that society needs changing and that they know how to go about it and the battleground must ultimately be the factory, the land — Industry, by the total withdrawal of labour, the General Strike. Of course when repression of the people gets to a certain point, there will be a violent reaction, but where are 30 million British workers going to get arms? How many anarchists are going to go into hiding fighting some kind of guerrilla warfare. F.K. does not mention Spain and the CNT; is there not a lesson for us to be learnt there. I think there is and although things anywhere else will not happen in exactly the same way, repression through reactionary government is bound to hit us harder and harder. We may have to fight with everything we have and I do not believe that guns are enough. Any future discussion of the proposals contained in F.K.'s article must inevitably include alternative suggestions if the anarchist movement is to progress in a positive and truly revolutionary way.

Fraternal greetings
P.A.S.

cial interest of the gun firms to see that this right is kept up, the whole point of its constitutional guarantee was defence against tyranny from inside or outside the country. Not so here where the State regards the public as dangerous children.

Firearms is a generally recognised sport in the US whereas it is an esoteric cult in England; I suspect that considerable latitude is given to fascistic groups in their pose as "law and order" experts but none at all given to anyone else (political or not; — but if they can get in

the political angle, God help you).

It is reckoned that one can defend oneself against muggers in the States. In this country it is just as much a crime as mugging.

All right wing groups in the States practise arms, but so do a lot of others. For left wing groups to practice arms here would be regarded almost as great a challenge as actually using them. This must be taken into account in any discussion of the subject but the point made is valid, though I do not know the answer.
Greg;



Herr Raffman:

You have been convicted, quite rightly in my opinion, of the most heinous crimes against the State... It is my duty, therefore, to order that you be taken to a place of detention, where arrangements will be made for your suicide...

CIENFUEGOS PRESS

ANARCHIST REVIEW

NUMBER THREE

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Dear comrades,

I suspect the writer of the article 'Prepare' is an American and without wanting to go into any national differences, there is considerable difference in the matter of handling firearms in that country and this. In the USA the use of firearms is a constitutionally guaranteed right and for all the commer-

THIS ISSUE OF BLACK FLAG WAS DESIGNED & LAYED OUT BY CLIFF HARPER

STAMMHEIM

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unger riker dies ead two laces	38. Meinhof autopsy report indicates rape & murder — go to jail do not pass Go. Do not collect £200.	39. Gunpowder traces on Baader's right hand. Baader left handed. Take three "Plausible Explanation" cards.	40. New facts come to light. Take two "Plausible Explanation" cards.	41. Irmgard Moller denies suicide attempt. Go back ten places or arrange new suicide within two throws.
				42. Pope offers self as hostage. Urban guerrillas laugh themselves to death. Go forward 4' places. 43. Control of mass media. Go forward six places.

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